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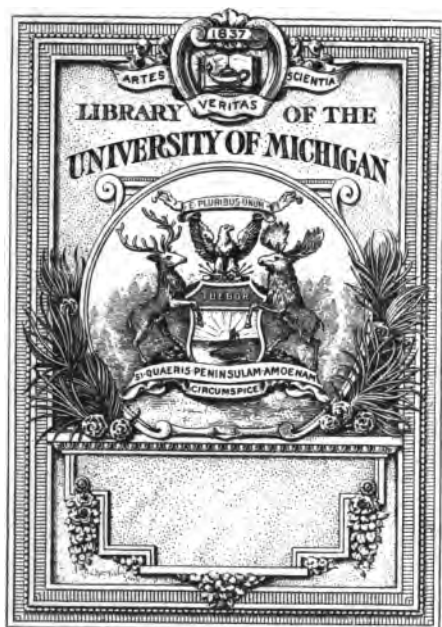
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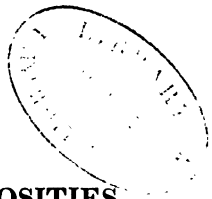
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1828

A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ANTIQUEITIES AND OTHER CURIOSITIES
OF
R O M E.

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A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES AND OTHER CURIOSITIES
OF
ROME:
FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION
DURING
A VISIT TO ITALY IN THE YEARS 1818-19.
WITH
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN WRITERS.

BY THE
REV. EDWARD BURTON, M.A.
LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne,
Vedova, sola, e dì e notte chiama.
Dante, *Purg.* vi. 112.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS,
IN TWO VOLUMES.
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A
DESCRIPTION
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CIRCUS.

THE first games, of which we find any account in the Roman history, are the *Ludi Consuales*, which were given by Romulus, at the time that the Sabine women were carried off. These were probably in some part of the *Campus Martius*. Similar games were exhibited by the other kings: but *Tarquinius Priscus* improved greatly upon them, and established an annual celebration of what were called *Ludi Romani*, *Magni*, or *Circenses*. *Livy* tells us, that they consisted of equestrian and athletic exercises, (*equi pugilesque*,) the performers in which came mostly from *Etruria*. The same king first formed the *Circus Maximus* in the valley called *Murcia*, between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* hills. *Livy's* account

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B

of it is as follows:^a "Separate places were "marked out for the senators and knights, where "each might see the games. These were called "*fori*. The spectators were on high seats, "twelve feet from the ground, supported by "wooden poles." Dionysius would lead us to think, that Livy had rather represented Tarquin's Circus in too mean a light. He tells us,^b that Tarquin was the first who erected covered seats, the spectators having formerly stood upon wooden planks. He also divided the whole into thirty *curiæ*. The situation of the Circus Maximus is marked out by nature, otherwise scarcely any thing remains. The curved end was towards the south; the straight end, where were the Carceres, was towards the river. The walls, which surrounded it, and along which were the seats for the spectators, are entirely gone. All that can now be traced is a portion of the bottom of the wall at the curved end.

According to Dionysius, the Circus was $3\frac{1}{2}$ *stadia* long, and 4 *plethra* (about 400 feet) wide. It contained 150,000 people. Pliny makes it only 3 *stadia* long, and 1 wide, containing 260,000. It is difficult to reconcile these statements. It might be thought, that the two authors were speaking of the building at different periods, and that the smaller number of people was contained in the original Circus, built by Tarquin. But Dionysius uses the present tense, as if he was

^a Lib. i. c. 35.

^b Lib. iii. c. 68.

describing the building of his own time; and if it were otherwise, the Circus of the greater length would be made to contain the smaller number of people. P. Victor says, that it contained room for **385,000 persons**. Donati makes it out to have been 2,500 Roman palms in length, and 1,280 in width. It seems probable that Pliny only measured the interior of the Circus, whereas Dionysius included the exterior walls and porticos. Dionysius proceeds to state, that round three sides of it there was a stream of water, called *Euripus*, 10 feet in depth and width. Behind this was a triple portico: the lower seats were of stone, the upper of wood. The circumference of the whole measured eight *stadia*. Round it on the outside there was another single portico, with shops in it and rooms over them; through which there were passages and stair-cases, leading to the seats of the Circus.

It was rebuilt by J. Cæsar,^c who added the *Euripus*. The part towards Mount Aventine was burnt in the time of Tiberius.^d The great fire in Nero's reign began in the Circus Maximus, and raged along the whole length of it.^e The damage was probably not repaired till the time of Domitian, in whose reign the sides were rebuilt with stone taken from his Naumachia.^f It was enlarged by Trajan, so as to contain 5000 more

^c Suet. c. 39. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

^d Tacit. An. lib. vi. c. 45.

^e Ibid. lib. xv. c. 38.

^f Suet. Domit. c. 5.

persons,^g and repaired by Antoninus Pius.^h Elagabalus ornamented it with gold and some beautiful columns. He also restored the pavement with *chrysocollo*. What this was we learn from Pliny;ⁱ and Suetonius tells us,^k that the Arena was strewn with it and vermillion. The whole was considerably improved and beautified by Constantine.^l

By the help of the Circus of Caracalla, which still remains in great part, we are enabled to form a tolerably good idea of the ancient Circus, and it is chiefly from this that the annexed sketch has been made. From this figure it will be perceived, that the Circus was of an oblong form, straight at one end, and curved at the other, the length being about three times the breadth, or somewhat more. At the straight end were the *Carceres*. There were here thirteen openings or *Ostia*. That in the middle was larger than the rest, by which the horsemen and their chariots entered. On each side of this were six apertures, called *Carceres*, where the chariots stood before they started. We find various names given to these places, such as *Oppidum*, *Repagula*, *Alba linea*, *Cryptæ*, *Claustra*. They were called *Oppidum*, because anciently there were turrets and battlements upon them.^m Livy says,ⁿ that the *Carceres* were first placed in the Consulate of

^g Dio, lib. lxxviii.

^h J. Capitolinus.

ⁱ Lib. xxxiii. c. 26.

^k Calig. c. 18.

^l Amm. Marcel. lib. xv.

^m Varro, lib. iv.

ⁿ Lib. viii. c. 20.

L. Papirius Crassus and L. Pl. Venno, U. C. 425, by which he perhaps means, that the *Repagula* or barriers were first placed in that year. Originally the Carceres were of wood or stone: Claudius made them of marble.^o The *Repagula* were not lowered, so that the chariots might pass over them; but they turned upon hinges, as we may learn from Ovid,

Utque fores nondum versati cardinis acer
Nunc pede, nunc ipsa fronte lacessit equus.

Trist. v. 9. 29.

And from Manilius,

Ut cum laxato fugerunt cardine claustra—v. 76.

In an old bas-relief in the Farnese Palace, the *Repagula* are represented exactly as folding doors. Dionysius says, that they all opened at once; and we learn the same from Cassiodorus,^p “Bissena Ostia ad XII. signa posuerunt. Hæc, “ab Hermulis funibus demissis, subita æqualitate “panduntur.” In front of the Carceres, at each extremity, was a figure of Mercury holding a rope. Previous to the games commencing, this rope was loose, and lay upon the ground: the people at first occupied the whole of the area, consulting fortune-tellers, or engaged in other amusements: the raising and tightening of the

^o Suet. c. 21.

^p Lib. iii. Var.

rope was a signal for them to retire to their seats.
Ovid alludes to this,

Quid frustra refugis? cogit nos linea jungi:

Hæc ex lege loci commoda Circus habet.

Amor. lib. iii. el. 2. 19.

When this rope was once more lowered, the Carceres were opened and the chariots started. A similar line was extended before the Carceres at the Greek games.

The person at whose expense the games were given, sat over the middle entrance. It was from hence that the signal was made for the chariots to start. At first torches were used; but afterwards a napkin or cloth was lowered. It was the business of the consul to make the signal, and in his absence the prætor gave it. In the time of the emperors it was the prætor's office: he let a napkin fall from the balcony; and it is said, that the custom arose from an order of Nero, who was dining, and the people became so impatient for the games to begin, that he ordered his own napkin to be thrown down as a signal. Hence Juvenal's expression,

Interea Megalesiacæ spectacula *mappæ*.

Sat. xi. 191.

A trumpet also sounded, as at the Olympic games.

The drivers wore different colours, whence

arose the different factions, which divided not only the Circus, but the whole city,⁹ and raged so furiously afterwards in Constantinople.^r At first there were only two colours, the white and the red: two more were added, green and blue, which gave the names of *Albata*, *Russata*, *Prasina*, and *Veneta*, to the different factions.^s Domitian added two more, *Aurata* and *Purpurea*. One chariot started from each faction; so that only six chariots started at once, and before Domitian's time only four. Cassiodorus also, who wrote about A.D. 500, mentions only four colours. It is difficult to explain why there were twelve Carceres, if only six chariots started. At the Greek races they set out from each side alternately,^t and sometimes as many as ten chariots entered the lists at once. It is probable, that the Romans borrowed the number of the Carceres from the Greeks, though they did not imitate that people in the use of them. For it is certain, that at Rome the same six Carceres were always used, viz. those which had the middle entrance, or *Janua Magistratum*, at the left hand. It is evident, from an inspection of the plan, that these were the most advantageous places for starting from, as the chariots ran, keeping the Metæ on their left. So also of the different Carceres, that which was nearest to the *Janua Magistratum* was the best, and was called the first. It was

⁹ Vide Pliny's Letters, lib. ix. ep. 6.

^r Evagrius, lib. iv. c. 32. ^s Tertull. de Spectac. 9.

^t Pausan. Eliac. lib. ii.

also called *A Pompá*, because the processions entered by the Janua Magistratuum. The others were numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, beginning from this. Lots were drawn for the places, as at the Greek games. The prætor shook the lots in an urn; and the chariot, which took the first place, was called *Summa*, the sixth *Ima*. An ancient inscription mentions this custom, *DIOCLES SVMMA QVADRIGA ET OSTIO QVARTO MISSVS VICIT*.

At the Olympic games the chariots ran twelve times round the course. At Rome they went only seven times round it: but as there was a *Meta* at each extremity of the course, it has been doubted whether each *Meta* was passed seven times, or whether seven *Metæ* were to be passed during the race. It seems probable, however, that the chariots actually ran seven times round the course;^u and that which arrived first at the *Meta* nearest to the Carceres won the race; or rather that which arrived first at a white line traced in chalk upon the ground, and reaching from one side of the Circus to the other. Casiodorus describes this line,^{*} “Alba linea non “longe ab Ostiis in utrumque podium, quasi “regula directa, perducitur: ut quadrijugis pro- “gredientibus inde certamen oriretur, ne dum “semper propere conantur elidere, spectandi vo- “luptatem viderentur populis abrogare.” From these words it is evident that the line was drawn

^u Arnobius speaks of the chariots, “replicantes gyros septem.” Lib. vii. p. 245.

^{*} Var. lib. iiii. epist. 51.

between the Carceres and the first Meta, and the spectators considered the race to have begun, not so much when the chariots first started, as when they reached this line. It served also, as already stated, to mark the winning chariot; for as they began the race on one side of the Spina and ended it on the other, the same line would naturally serve each purpose. Both uses of this line gave rise to proverbial expressions. *A lineâ* became a common phrase for the commencement of any thing: and the poets will supply us with abundance of instances, where the *ultima linea rerum* is alluded to. The terms *Calx* and *Creta* also obtained the same significations, because the line was marked with *chalk*, as Pliny tells us,⁷ "The commonest kind of chalk is that with which the line is drawn across the Circus to mark the winning chariot." Hence we may understand, why in the same passages some manuscripts read *Meta* and others *Creta*; for though the chalk line was not actually the same thing as the last goal, yet it was close to it, and at the end of the race it was the goal at which the contenders wished to arrive. Thus we have in Seneca,⁸ "Hanc, quam nunc in Circo *cretam* vocamus calcem antiqui dicebant." Some MSS. read *Metam*. It is the same with Propertius,⁹ "Hæc spatiis ultima *Creta* meis:" the common reading is *Meta*; but the former is probably right, because it is much more likely that a person not understanding the

⁷ Lib. xxxv. c. 58.⁸ Epist. 108.⁹ Lib. iv. el. 2. 58.

meaning of *Creta* should alter it to *Meta*. We have the same idea in Lucretius, (vi. 91.)

Tu mihi supremæ præscripta ad candida calcis
Currenti spatium præmonstra, callida Musa.

Each race of six chariots was called *Missus*: and of these there were twenty-five in the course of the day. The last was called *Ærarius*: because the expense was defrayed by subscription: but it was afterwards left off, and there were only twenty-four races in the course of the day. Some emperors chose to give more than twenty-five, in which case the chariots generally did not go seven times round the course. To prevent mistakes, little pillars were erected near the *Metæ*, on which an egg was placed every time, that the chariots had come to the end of the course; so that the people could always tell how many times they had gone round. Dio says,^b that Agrippa first instituted this custom: but it would seem from Livy,^c that it was much older. The eggs were considered sacred to Castor and Pollux.^d

The ground which the chariots occupied immediately upon leaving the *Carceres*, and before they reached the first *Meta*, seems to have been called *spatium*. Tertullian says,^e “lineam ex-
“tremam habet, si determinatur, quia *spatiorum*
“initium et finis lineis notabatur.” This may illustrate a passage in Virgil, where the word *spatia* occurs,

^b Lib. xlix.

^c Lib. xli. c. 27.

^d Tertul. de Spectac. 8.

^e Adv. Hermog. c. 3.

Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigæ,
Addunt se in *spatia*.

Georg. i. 512.

And in describing a foot race, he says,

signoque repente
Corripiunt *spatia* audito limenque relinquunt.

Æn. v. 315.

Limen is probably here put for *linea*, as it is in Statius,

Ut ruit, atque æquum summisit regula limen,
Corripuere leves spatium.

Thebaid. lib. vi.

To these examples may be added an expression used by Cicero, of a man at the end of his life being come *usque ad extremum spatium*.^f We are apt in English to confound the terms Carceres and Meta, translating both by *goal*, which is a great mistake; and in a Latin Poem of the seventh century, written by an Italian,^g we find the same mistake.

Sic cum frenatos astringit *meta* jugales,
Ordineque emissos jussit deducere Prætor,
Ire volunt omnes primi.

The chariots were drawn by two, three, or four horses, but generally by four. Augustus introduced six, and some had seven. Nero drove as many as ten, but this was at Olympia,^h and since he was thrown out of the chariot, his example was

^f Pro Archia Poeta, 12.

^g Apol. Excid. Hierosol. lib. ii.

^h Suet. c. 24.

perhaps not followed. We find mention of elephants being yoked, and camels, stags, dogs, tigers, lions, &c.ⁱ Sometimes also single horses ran; and we read of *equi desultorii*, where the rider managed two horses, and leaped from one to the other. In some ancient bas-reliefs we may observe persons on horseback accompanying the chariots as they ran; their use seems to have been, to supply the drivers with anything which they might want. The charioteers were at first slaves, freedmen, or strangers: but afterwards the nobles amused themselves with driving publicly in the Circus, and several emperors distinguished themselves by it.

The line which occupies the middle of the Circus is the *spina*, round which the chariots ran, keeping it always on the left hand. It was a brick wall, four feet high, and at the end next to the Carceres twelve feet broad; towards the other extremity it became narrower. At each end was a *meta*, round which the chariots turned; and their object was to go as near as possible to these without touching them. The *metæ* were originally of wood, and occasionally removed, when the whole area of the Circus was wanted for other purposes. Claudius had them made of marble, and gilt. Their form was conical, or, as Ovid says, like that of a Cypress: “*metas imitata cupressus*.”^k Ancient sculptures represent them

ⁱ Suet. in Nerone. Dio. Lamprid. in Elagab.

^k Metamorph. x. 106.

as divided into three, or rather like three cones compressed together, so that there were three distinct summits to each *meta*, with an oval ornament at the top. The *meta* nearest to the *carceres* was called *murcia*. Under this was a circular temple, sacred to the god Consus, to whom Romulus dedicated the games at which the Sabine women were carried off.¹ He is supposed to have been a God of Silence; but some make him the same as Neptune. From him, the games were called *Ludi Consuales*, till the time of Tarquinius Priscus.

There were other appendages to the *spina* besides the *metæ*. It has been already mentioned, that there were little pillars, on which eggs were placed, to mark the number of times the chariots had gone round. Figures of dolphins were used for the same purpose; hence the expression in Juvenal—

Consulit ante falas Delphinorumque columnas.

vi. 589.

Obelisks were also placed upon the *spina*. In the Circus Maximus were two, one dedicated to the sun, 109 feet high; the other to the moon, 80 feet high. There was also generally a figure of Cybele, drawn by lions. When the race was finished, the victor ascended the *spina* by some steps, and received his prize, which consisted of money, or a crown, or palm-branches. It appears from Cassiodorus, that a palm was the prize for

¹ Tertull. de Spectac. 5.

athletic contests,^m and for chariot races.ⁿ When the games were over, he went out by the *Porta Triumphalis*, which was at the curved end of the Circus; at least such has always been the opinion of the antiquaries; but an excavation, lately made in the Circus of Caracalla, has brought to light seven steps, leading up to what was called the *Porta Triumphalis*.

It will be observed, that the *spina* is not so near the carceres as it is to the *Porta Triumphalis*; nor does it stand in the middle of the Circus. In that of Caracalla, which is still perfect, the *spina* is thirty-six feet nearer to one side than it is to the other. The reason is this: as the chariots started from the carceres, and were to go round the course, leaving the *spina* to the left, at the time they reached the first *meta* they would be nearly all abreast; it was, therefore, more necessary that they should have room to pass each other at this part of the course, than during all the rest of the race. Consequently, the *spina* was not placed quite in the middle; because, by the time the chariots turned the second *meta*, some must have taken the lead so decidedly, that the same space would not be required for them to run abreast, as at the beginning.

The chariot race was by no means the only amusement which the Circus afforded. We find

^m Var. lib. ii. epist. 28 : see also Æl. Lamprid. Commodus, 12.

ⁿ Var. lib. iii. epist. 51.

mention of seven others in ancient authors ; processions, gymnastics, *Ludus Trojæ*, chases of wild beasts, combats of horse and foot, *Naumachia*, and sometimes dramatic exhibitions. Of these, the procession was the first amusement in the course of the day, and was either sacred or military ; but it seems to have been by no means a favourite amusement, and the people were generally glad when it was over.^o Next followed the chariot and foot races ; after which were the gymnastic exhibitions. The passage in which Virgil describes the *Ludus Trojæ*,^p is too well known to require insertion. The custom of celebrating it was revived by Cæsar. The sons of knights alone acted in it ; and the leader was called *Princeps Juventutis*. A passage in Claudian^q seems clearly to describe this game as being exhibited in the time of Honorius.

The exhibition of wild beasts was one of the most popular amusements at Rome. When amphitheatres were introduced, the Circus was not so much used for this purpose as before ; but still there were hunts in the Circus till a late period. The number of wild beasts killed upon these occasions is truly wonderful ; and if the accounts were not well attested, we might be incredulous as to the possibility of so many being supplied. It was in the course of the second Punic war that wild beasts were first exhibited at all, as before

^o Seneca, *Controv. lib. i. 1. proœm.* P. *Æn.* v. 579—603.

^q *De vi Cons. Honor.* 621.

that time there was a decree of the senate, prohibiting the importation of beasts from Africa. At first they were only shown to the people, and not hunted or killed. The earliest account we have of such an exhibition was U. C. 502, when one hundred and forty-two elephants were produced, which were taken in Sicily. Pliny, who gives us this information,^r tells us, that he could not ascertain whether they were put to death in the Circus, or merely exhibited there. But these animals had been seen in Rome twenty-three years before, in the triumph of M. C. Dentatus over Pyrrhus.^s According to Seneca,^t Pompey was the first person who gave a combat of elephants. 'If we may believe Suetonius,^u Galba introduced them in the games dancing or walking upon ropes. Lions first appeared in any number U. C. 652;^x but these were not turned loose. In the year 661, Sylla brought forward one hundred, when he was prætor, and had some African hunters sent on purpose to shoot them.^y In the year 696, beside lions, elephants, bears, &c. one hundred and fifty panthers were shown for the first time. When Pompey dedicated his theatre, there was the greatest exhibition of beasts ever known. There were seventeen elephants, six hundred lions, which were killed in the course of five days; four hundred and ten panthers, &c.

^r Lib. viii. c. 6.

^t De Brev. Vitæ, c. 13.

^x Plin. lib. viii. c. 16.

^s Ibid.

^u Galba, c. 6.

^y Seneca, lib. c.

&c. A rhinoceros also appeared for the first time; a strange beast, called *chaus* or *cepos*, and a *lupus cervarius* from Gaul. This was U. C. 698. The last day's sport was composed entirely of elephants; and the terrible slaughter of these animals created a general commiseration.^a The art of taming these beasts was carried to such perfection, that M. Anthony actually yoked them to his carriage.^a Cæsar, in his third dictatorship, U. C. 708, showed a vast number of wild beasts, among which were four hundred lions and a cameleopard. The latter animal is thus described by Pliny:^b "The Ethiopians call it Nabis; in "the neck it resembles a horse, in the feet and "legs an ox, a camel in the head, and in colour "it is red with white spots." Dio is still more minute:^c "This animal resembles a camel, except that it has not the same proportion in its "limbs; the hind parts are lower, and it rises "gradually from the tail; the forelegs also serve "to elevate the rest of the body, and its neck is "peculiarly high. In colour it is spotted, like a "leopard." Ten of these animals were shown in one day by the Emperor Philip.^d A tiger was

^a The First Letter of the Seventh Book of Cicero's Letters to his Friends, will be read with interest, as describing these games.

^a Plin. lib. viii. c. 21. Plutarch.

^b Lib. viii. c. 27. He is copied, word for word, by Solinus, Polyhist. c. 32.

^c Lib. xliii.

^d The cameleopard is described, also, by Philostorgius, iii.

exhibited for the first time at the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus, U. C. 743. It was kept in a cage. Claudius afterwards showed four together.^e Titus exhibited five thousand beasts of various kinds in one day.^f Hadrian had one thousand beasts slaughtered on his birth-day; and Commodus killed several thousands with his own hand.^g The Emperor Gordian, besides showing one hundred African beasts, and one thousand bears, in one day, devised a spectacle of quite a new kind; he had a temporary wood planted in the Circus, and turned into it two hundred stags, (*cervi palmati*,) thirty wild horses, one hundred wild sheep, ten elks, one hundred Cyprian bulls, three hundred ostriches, thirty wild asses, one hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred *ibices*, and two hundred deer. He allowed all the people to enter the wood, and take what they pleased.^h Probus imitated him in his idea of a wood. Vopiscus describes it thus: "Large trees were pulled up by the roots, "and fastened to beams, which were laid down "crossing each other. Soil was then thrown "upon them, and the whole Circus was planted "like a wood." There were turned in one thousand ostriches, one thousand stags, one thousand boars, one thousand deer, one thousand *ibices*,

11. This chapter contains a curious description of several strange animals.

^e Plin. lib. viii. c. 25.

^f Suet. c. 7.

^g Lamprid. 12.

^h Jul. Capitolinus.

wild sheep, and other grazing animals, as many as could be fed or found. The people were then let in, and took what they wished. I have selected those instances which appear most remarkable; but every reign would furnish us with incredible accounts. We find mention in Plinyⁱ of the boa constrictor; he gives it the name of *boa*, and tells us that Claudius had one killed in the Vatican Circus, in the inside of which a child was found **entire**. Suetonius mentions another,^k which measured fifty cubits in length; but this was exhibited in the Forum.^l Enough has been stated to show that the ancients had much greater acquaintance with the wild beasts of Asia and Africa than the moderns have. I will close this account, which is already too long, with the correspondence of Cicero and Cælius. When Cicero went out Proconsul of Cilicia, Cælius writes to him,^m “ I have spoken to you, in almost all my “ letters, about the panthers. It will be disgraceful to you, that Patiscus has sent ten panthers “ to Curio, while you have scarcely sent a greater “ number to me. Curio has made me a present “ of these, and ten others from Africa. If you “ will only keep it in mind, and employ the “ people of Cybira, and also send letters into “ Pamphylia, (for I understand that the greatest

ⁱ Lib. viii. c. 14.

^k Vita Augusti.

^l Philostorgius mentions having seen the skins of such serpents at Rome; some of them were fifteen cubits in length. iii. 11.

^m Cicero, Epist. ad Fam. lib. viii. ep. 9.

“number are taken there,) you will gain your
 “object.” To this the Proconsul replies,ⁿ “I
 “have given particular orders about the panthers
 “to those who are in the habit of hunting them;
 “but they are surprisingly scarce; and it is said,
 “that those which are there make a great com-
 “plaint, that they are the only persons in my
 “province who have plots laid against them. It
 “is accordingly supposed, that they are deter-
 “mined to quit my province, and go into Caria.
 “However, I shall use all diligence, and particu-
 “larly with Patiscus.”

The beasts were made to fight either with one
 another, or with men. The latter were called
bestiarii, and occasionally fought without any
 weapons. Pliny calls them *noxii*, culprits:^o and
 one of the common punishments of criminals was
 to be sentenced to these exhibitions in the public
 games.^p Caligula even fed the wild beasts with
 these wretched victims at a time when butchers’
 meat was very dear.^q

There seems no sufficient reason why we should
 not interpret the expression of S. Paul^r literally,
 and suppose, that he had actually been made to
fight with beasts in the Theatre at Ephesus. His
 words in another place^s may possibly allude to
 this combat: and though what he says in his se-

ⁿ Epist. Famil. lib. ii. ep. 11.

^o Lib. xxxiii. c. 16. So do Seneca, Spartian, &c.

^p Plin. Epist. lib. x. ep. 40.

^q Sueton., c. 27.

^r 1 Cor. xv. 32.

^s 2 Cor. i. 8, &c.

cond Epistle to Timothy,[†] of *being delivered from the mouth of the lion*, is generally interpreted metaphorically, it is deserving of notice, that Timothy was then residing at Ephesus; and in this passage the Apostle seems to be alluding to his own perils in that city. In an account of places, where these barbarities were practised, Ephesus is expressly mentioned:[‡] and two ecclesiastical writers[§] preserve a tradition, that the Apostle was exposed to wild beasts, but that they would not touch him.

Means were used to excite the fury of the wild animals, by applying fire, and lashing them with whips.[¶] The elephants were intoxicated with wine and incense; but Ælian says,[‡] that it was not wine from the grape, but a liquor made from rice and reeds. Cloths were used to irritate the lions and bears;[§] and wild boars had a particular objection to white cloths. Balls were also thrown at them to provoke them. The principal object of the Euripus mentioned above was to prevent the elephants and other beasts from coming to the people.

Beside the battles in which wild beasts were

[†] iv. 17.

[‡] Artemidor. Onirocrit. lib. i. c. 9.

[§] Nicephorus Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 25. Theodoret. in locum. Ignatius informs us, that such cases had happened: Epist. ad Rom. § 5. Tertullian seems to have understood the passage in 1 Cor. xv. 32. literally; and so did Origen; Hom. 13 in Gen. § 3. Cyprian says, that S. Paul was exposed to beasts; Ep. 5.

[¶] Sozomen. lib. vii. c. 23.

[‡] Lib. xiii.

[§] Vid. Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 30. Plin. lib. viii.

engaged, there were other sanguinary spectacles, in which gladiators either contended in single combat, or large bodies of horse and foot fought with each other. The usual division of the daily amusements was that in the morning men fought with beasts, in the middle of the day with each other. The latter was rather a kind of interlude to the former.^b It appears from the chronicle of Cassiodorus, that athletic games were first exhibited in the year of Rome 567; and Livy tells us the same thing;^c but by the term *athletæ* we are not to understand simply gladiators, for the same author tells us, that they were introduced seventy-eight years before, U.C. 489.^d The emperor Gordian had sometimes five hundred pairs of gladiators exhibited in one day, and never less than one hundred and fifty.^e In Cæsar's games we find five hundred foot and three hundred horse engaged together, beside three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators: twenty elephants were also introduced; upon which occasion the *metæ* were removed to give more room. From these two examples we may see in what number human victims were sacrificed, that some great man might be popular, and the Roman rabble amused. In the days of Nero or Elagabalus,^f a lion or an elephant was surely a much nobler

^b Seneca, Epist. 7.

^c Lib. xxxix. c. 22.

^d Epit. lib. xvi. et Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4.

^e Jul. Capitolinus.

^f The only coin of which I have seen an engraving, writes the name thus, and not Heliogabalus.

animal than a Roman emperor; and it may be doubted whether a gladiator was not much fitter to govern a nation. Nero was not satisfied with having slaves as gladiators, but he made thirty knights destroy each other in that capacity; and at another time four hundred senators and six hundred knights engaged by his order. We read even of women fighting in the Circus.

The naval engagements were sometimes exhibited in the Circus Maximus, which could easily be filled with water. Calpurnius,^s after alluding to the woods which have been already mentioned as being introduced into the Circus, says,

Nec solum nobis sylvestria cernere monstra
Contigit, æquoreos ego cum certantibus ursis
Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum
Sed deforme pecus.

In which he means to describe the Hippopotamus. Augustus had exhibited at one time thirty-six crocodiles.^h Some of the emperors erected buildings on purpose, which were called *Naumachiæ*. Two of the largest were built by Cæsar and Augustus. Suetonius, speaking of the former, says,ⁱ “ a lake was dug in the form of a shell, in “ which *Biremes*, *Triremes*, and *Quadrirèmes*, “ representing the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, “ engaged, with a vast number of men on board.” It was filled up after Cæsar’s death. The *Naumachia* of Augustus was on the other side of the

^s Eclog. vii. 66.

^h Dio Cass. lib. lv.

ⁱ C. 39.

Tiber, and was 1800 feet in length, and 200 in width, so that thirty ships of war could engage in it. Caligula constructed one,^k as did Domitian and others. That of Domitian was on the site of the present *Piazza di Spagna*. Elagabalus upon one occasion filled the Euripus with wine, and had naval exhibitions performed in it.^l P. Victor mentions ten *Naumachiae*.

Dramatic exhibitions were but seldom represented in the Circus. That they were so occasionally, we learn from Suetonius, who says, that Augustus had them exhibited there.^m

For many years the senators and common people sat together without any order. Attilius Serranus and L. Scribonius, who were *Ædiles* U. C. 558, appointed particular seats for the senators.ⁿ Augustus ordered the senators and knights to sit separately;^o and Claudius appointed a particular place for the senators, as Nero did for the knights. Kings and foreigners of distinction were sometimes allowed, by a special decree, to sit in the places allotted to the senators.^p Livy says, that the people had no accommodation for sitting till the time of the Scipios: but it appears from Dionysius, that they had it from the days of Tarquin. From a passage in Suetonius,^q it might be thought that money was paid for admission to some of the seats. His words are, “*Inquietatus*

^k Dio, lib. lix.

^l Spartianus.

^m C. 43.

ⁿ Liv. lib. xxxiv. c. 54. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4.

^o Dio, lib. lv.

^p Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. 6.

^q Caligula, c. 26.

“fremitu gratuita in Circo loca de media nocte occupantium, omnes fustibus obegit.” If *gratuita loca* mean, seats for which nothing was paid, it would certainly follow, that there were some seats, which were not of that description: and we have proof that in the third century money could procure admission to the best seats.^r Augustus prohibited women from entering before a certain hour of the day, that they might not be present at the athletic exercises. He forced them also to confine themselves to the upper seats, while the gladiators were fighting. Married men had certain rows allotted to them; and schoolmasters were favoured in the same way.^s The consuls, prætors, and all those officers, who were entitled to preside, had seats over the middle gate of the Carceres, whence it was called *Janua Magistratuum*. Some magistrates also had seats near the first meta. It appears from Cassiodorus,^t that particular individuals had fixed seats (like private boxes) belonging to them, which in some cases descended to their children. They were also given as a reward for some particular merit; and we read of the Ælian family having seats assigned them both in the Circus Maximus and the Flaminian.^u Nor were the magistrates the only persons provided with seats. Arnobius,^x speaking of the general passion for these spectacles, complains, that the Priests, the Pontifex Maximus,

^r Arnobius adv. Gentes, lib. iv. p. 132. ed. 1651.

^s Sueton. Aug. c. 44.

^t Varr. lib. iv. epist. 42.

^u Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 4. § 8.

^x Lib. iv. contra Gentes.

the Augurs, and even the Vestal Virgins, were in the habit of attending. The latter had a particular place allotted for them by Augustus;^y but were included in the prohibition mentioned above, which kept them from the athletic exercises. This prohibition was removed, as far as concerned the Vestal Virgins, by Nero, who quoted the precedent of the priestesses of Ceres being allowed to attend the Olympic games.^z It would seem also from a passage in Cicero,^a that the person, at whose expense the games were given, had some seats reserved, in which he might place any of his own friends. Perhaps therefore we are to understand *gratuita loca*, as open seats, in opposition not to those which were paid for, but to those which were appropriated to persons of a certain rank or office. In later times the empress had her station among the Vestal Virgins. The eagerness with which all parties flocked to the games, is almost incredible. The passage lately quoted from Suetonius proves what it was in the time of Caligula; we have proof of it being the same at the beginning of the third century;^b and Ammianus, who wrote in the fourth century, gives the following lively description of it in his days. "The people spend all their earnings in drinking and gaming, in spectacles, amusements, and shows. The Circus Maximus is their temple, their dwelling-house, their public meeting, and

^y Sueton. Aug. c. 44.

^z Sueton. Nero, c. 12.

^a Pro L. Muræna, 34.

^b Tertull. de Spectac. 16.

“all their hopes. In the *fora*, the streets, and
 “squares, multitudes assemble together and dis-
 “pute, some defending one thing and some ano-
 “ther. The oldest take the privilege of their
 “age, and cry out in the temples and *fora*, that
 “the Republic must fall, if in the approaching
 “games the person whom they support does not
 “win the prize, and first pass the goal. When
 “the wished-for day of the equestrian games ar-
 “rives, before sun-rise all run headlong to the
 “spot, passing in swiftmess the chariots that are
 “to run; upon the success of which their wishes
 “are so divided, that many pass the night with-
 “out sleep.” Lactantius confirms this account,^c
 and says, that the people often quarrelled and
 fought from their great eagerness.

These descriptions would be applicable to the
 Roman people at any period, from the age of J.
 Cæsar to the time in which they were written.
 It has been already stated, that Pliny makes the
 Circus Maximus capable of containing 260,000
 persons, in which Sextus Rufus agrees with him.
 Publius Victor estimates the number at 385,000.
 Juvenal says, *Totam hodie Romam Circus capit.*^d
 At what period the different amusements of the
 Circus ceased, it would not be easy exactly to
 define. There is no mention of processions or
 naumachiæ after the time of Constantine. We

^c Lib. vi.

^d Sat. xi. 195: vide Seneca, de Ira, lib. ii. c. 7.: “illum
 Circum, in quo maximam sui partem populus ostendit.”

know that he forbade the combats of gladiators:^e but the custom must have been afterwards revived, since Honorius found it necessary to prohibit the combats of gladiators by a special edict.^f This was about the beginning of the fifth century: and Procopius, speaking of a Circus near the Vatican,^g mentions it as a place then in disuse, in which, he says, *formerly* single combats were exhibited. This was about the year 546. In the time of Honorius wild beasts were still exhibited in great numbers, as we may read in the lively description of Claudian.^h The combats of men and beasts seem to have lasted till Justinian's days; though the younger Theodosius put a stop to them during his reign:ⁱ and an edict was again issued for their prohibition in the time of Anastasius, about A. D. 500.^k It is certain, that such bloody spectacles existed in the time of Theodoric, for we have in Cassiodorus^l a letter from that king to the consul Maximus, in which he gives an interesting account of them, while he reprobates the custom extremely: culprits were devoured by beasts in the Amphitheatre as late as the

^e Cassiodor. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 9: Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 25.

^f Cassiodor. lib. x. c. 2. Theodorit. lib. v. c. 26.

^g Lib. iv. c. 1.

^h In ii Cons. Stil. 237. ad finem.

ⁱ Socrates, lib. vii. c. 22.

^k Theophanes in Chronico: Theodor. Lector. ii. 53.

^l Var. lib. v. epist. 42.

year 580.^m It is probable, that the chariot and horse-races continued much longer: the Hippodrome at Constantinople was certainly employed for this purpose at the time the Venetians took that city in 1204.

CIRCUS OF CARACALLA AND OTHERS.

The description given above of the different parts of the Roman Circus is taken from ancient authors, and from the actual appearance of what still remains of a Circus out of the Porta S. Sebastiano. This is generally called the Circus of Caracalla, though not upon any good authority. Fabretti is inclined to ascribe it to Gallienus; but an inscription discovered in 1825 has led the antiquaries to give it to Maxentius. The outer wall remains almost entire, but the seats are gone, except that, by having fallen in, they have left a kind of terrace along the whole length of the walls. In walking along this terrace, I observed a regular succession of round holes in the rubbish at a distance of eight paces from each other. There must have been something, that broke the continuity of the seats, so that when they fell in, they left a vacant space in these places. They may have been the stair-cases, by which the people ascended, and if they were circular, they would exactly answer to the holes

^m Evagrius, lib. v. c. 18.

which I have observed. If they were of stone, which is most probable, the steps have all been carried off, and that would explain still better why a circular aperture should be left in the rubbish. There is also a curious thing to be observed in the walls, where they have been broken; which is, there are several large earthen vessels inclosed within the brickwork. It has been conjectured, that they were used to expedite the building, or to lessen the expense; **neither of which reasons seem adequate.** Others have said, that **their purpose** was to lighten the building. **Each** pot might be considered a kind of arch supporting the masonry above; and they themselves being hollow, the entire mass supported by the arch below was less than if the whole were solid. Some support is given to this opinion by the fact, that in the baths of Caracalla the roofs which remain are partly composed of pumice-stone.^a Yet after all it seems quite certain, that hollow vessels were placed in the walls of theatres for sake of the sound. Both the voice of the actor and the applause given by the audience, was made louder by it. Vitruvius^o expressly says, that bronze vessels were placed under the seats, constructed upon mathematical principles, to increase the sound of the voice coming from the stage, and to carry it with a clearer and sweeter tone to the audience. He explains the whole theory of these metallic ves-

^a Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

^o Lib. i. c. 1.

sels, but says at the same time, that he could not produce any instance of their being so applied in any theatre in Rome; but in other cities of Italy and in Greece they were common. According to him,^p earthen vessels were occasionally substituted for those of metal, for sake of cheapness: and yet Nibby lays it down as certain, that wherever we see these earthen vessels, we may be sure that the building is of an age, in which architecture was on the decline. He supports the idea of their having been used to lighten the building.^q In the present instance they were underneath the seats on which the spectators sat, and above the covered arcade, where the people walked. The same thing may be observed in several ruins about Rome: and the moderns have not wholly neglected this contrivance; for Evelyn mentions a room for music at Padua, in which "the filling up or cove 'twixt the walls were "of urns and earthen pots for the better sound-
"ing." We may observe generally, that the ancients paid great attention to the diffusion of sound in constructing their theatres; and by combining the principles of music and mathematics, as Vitruvius observes,^r they contrived to make the actors audible in very large theatres, where there was no covering. In the remains of

^p Lib. v. c. 5. Aristotle also speaks of such earthen vessels. Problem. lib. ii. p. 92. ed. Syburg.

^q *Viaggi ne' Contorni di Roma*, vol. i. p. 247.

^r Lib. v. c. 3.

the theatre at Taormina (Taurominium) in Sicily, I have stood on the upper seat of all, and not only heard distinctly the sound of a voice speaking from the stage, but even the tearing of a piece of paper sounded as if quite near. It is right however to add, that these earthen vessels may be seen in ancient buildings in and about Rome, where no conveyance of sound was required; and where, it would seem, that their only use could be to lighten the building.

The length of the Circus of Caracalla is 1678 feet, the breadth 435. It is calculated, that it could have contained 20,000 spectators. The Spina may be traced by the ground being considerably raised, and (as has been already mentioned) it is about 36 feet nearer to the left side of the Circus than to the right. An eminence may be observed at each end, where were the *metæ*; and under that, which is nearest to the Carceres, are some remains of the Temple of Consus. The obelisk, which is now in the Piazza Navona, stood formerly upon this Spina. Nothing can be made out as to the plan of the Carceres, but they seem to have gone rather in a curved than in a straight line. My first impression upon observing this was, that the left extremity of them was advanced farther into the Circus, because the chariots, which started from that side, would otherwise have a great disadvantage. But as the writers upon this subject decide, that the right hand side of the Carceres was alone used, I have followed their opinion in

the above description, and perhaps the curved appearance may have been from the ruined state of the building. Fabretti, however, (in his work upon Trajan's Column,) asserts that the Carceres were in a curved line, in order to give all the chariots an equal chance. At either extremity of the Carceres are two towers, and in the side-wall on the left hand is a similar eminence. On the right hand there seems to have been very little wall, which was owing to the ground being much higher on that side, which was taken advantage of to form the seats.⁵ What wall there is here, is not straight.

The next Circus in point of antiquity to the Circus Maximus was that of Flaminius, built by the consul of that name, U. C. 531. But Livy mentions a Circus called Apollinaris in the Prata Flaminia much earlier, where he is treating of the year 306.⁶ This probably was of wood, and that of the Consul Flaminius succeeded it. It is however rather doubtful, who gave name to this Circus. Plutarch says it was an older Flaminius, who left an estate to the people, to supply the games. Varro only removes the difficulty by saying, that the Circus took its name from the Prata Flaminia. It stood in the Campus Martius, without the city, and no trace of it now remains. By

⁵ Pocock states this to be the case with the Circus at Ephesus.

⁶ Lib. iii. c. 63: but there are doubts as to the genuineness of the text.

coupling a passage of Pliny with one of Festus we may learn, that it was not far from the Theatre of Pompey. The former says,^u that *Cn. Octavius* about the year of Rome 590 erected a double *portico* (i. e. a colonnade, with a double row of columns) at the *Circus Flaminius*. Festus, after describing the Portico of Octavia, which was near to the Theatre of Marcellus, says that there was another *Portico* near the *Theatre of Pompey*, built by *Cn. Octavius*. He adds, that it was burnt down, and rebuilt by Augustus. L. Fauno gives the situation of the Circus Flaminius with great precision. According to him, the length of it was from *San. Salvatore in Palco*, to the *Palazzo Mattei*: the width from the *Torre delle Citrangole* to the street called *Botteghe oscure*. The Church of S. Caterina de' Funari is supposed to stand about the middle of the Circus: and considerable remains of it existed, when the foundations were laid for the Palazzo Mattei. Vitruvius tells us, that there was a Temple of Castor within the Flaminian Circus:^x and it could not have been a very small one, because he adds, that it was similar to the Temple of Minerva at Sunium.

In the Piazza Navona we may trace the exact form of the Circus Agonalis, supposed to have been built by the Emperor Alexander Severus. The modern name also may easily be traced, as a corruption from the ancient one. From *Agonalis*

^u Lib. xxxiv. c. 7.

^x Lib. iv. c. 7.

or in *Agone* it came to be called *Nagona*, as it is written by J. Laurus. From *Nagona* the transition to *Navona* is not difficult. It should be mentioned, however, that this etymology is ridiculed by Nardini. He informs us, **that part** of the Campus Martius was fenced off with wood for the games called *Equiria*, and that Alexander Severus formed it into a regular Circus. Donati mentions a coin of that Emperor with a Circus on the reverse: and Nibby quotes two documents of the years 875 and 1143, in which the Circus Agonalis and Circus of Alexander are clearly identified with the Piazza Navona. The neighbouring Church of S. Niccolo de' Lorenesi was formerly called S. N. dei Agone. The Piazza now forms a fine open space surrounded by buildings, in which the outline of the Circus is observed, and even the round end is not lost. The length is about 750 feet. On some occasions chariot-races are still performed here in the ancient fashion: and on Saturdays and Sundays in the month of August it is covered with water, to provide a remedy against the intense heat. In the middle of the area are three fountains: that by Bernini is among the finest in Rome.

Between the Quirinal and Pincian hills was another Circus, in the gardens of Sallust, which some antiquaries have called the Circus Apollinaris, and of which some slight vestiges may be traced not far from the Porta Pia. It seems probable that this Circus was in existence long before the time of Sallust: for Livy tells us that in con-

sequence of a sudden rising of the Tiber in the year 550, which flooded the usual Circus, the Apollinarian games were celebrated outside of the Porta Collina.[†] The Egyptian Obelisk, which is placed in front of the Church of *la Trinità de' Monti*, stood in this Circus. Since Alaric entered Rome by the Porta Salara, the destruction of all the buildings in this quarter is well accounted for; and it might be thought, that nothing had been done to repair the damage since that time. A long line of wall of very ancient appearance is to be seen above the valley; which from its being built with arches has the look of being intended to support the soil, which rises behind it to a considerable height. It is said however to have formed part of the old walls, which ran in this direction, before Aurelian extended the circuit of them.

Some authors mention another Circus in or near the Gardens of Sallust. They give it the name of Flora, and place it near the Piazza Barberini.

The Circus of Nero stood partly on the site of the Basilica of St. Peter, and was destroyed by Constantine, when he built the old church, A.D. 324. It was probably begun in the reign of Caligula, since Pliny calls it the Circus of Caius and Nero.[‡] A plan of the Circus, showing its situation with respect to the ancient and modern church, may be seen in a work of Bonanni.[§]

[†] Liv. lib. xxx. c. 38.

[‡] Lib. xxxv. c. 15.

[§] *Historia Templi Vaticani*, c. 6. -

The curved end was towards the east, and reached almost to the steps leading up to the church. The Carceres nearly coincided with the farthest end of the Tribune. One side of it did not interfere with Constantine's building; the other was entirely built over, so that about half the area was occupied. Of the four pillars supporting the cupola, that at the south-west stands upon the site of the wall, where were the seats of the spectators. The Obelisk, which is now in front of S. Peter's, stood upon the Spina; and its actual position is marked by a square stone in the passage leading from the sacristy to the choir. It was moved in 1586 by Sextus V. Bonanni, after comparing several contradictory statements, conjectures the whole length of the Circus to have been 1240 palms.

There was another Circus in the neighbourhood of the Vatican, which may still be traced from any spot commanding this view. It is probably this which Procopius speaks of, as quoted above, where he mentions it as existing in his time, but in disuse. It also seems to be that which Andrea Fulvio notices, when after describing the Circus of Nero, he adds, that not far from the Mole of Hadrian a small Circus could be traced, of a black and hard stone, which was almost destroyed, and little known. Or this last may have been the Circus of Hadrian, of which some remains were discovered in the time of Benedict XIV., in the meadows behind the castle of S. Angelo, and near to the river. The length of it was made out to be 500

palms, the breadth 300, but the excavation was shortly after filled up again.

Some remains of another Circus may be seen outside of the walls, near the Amphitheatrum Castrense. It has been ascribed to Elagabalus and to Aurelian. An obelisk, which was broken into two pieces, has been removed from hence to the Gardens of the Vatican. P. Victor mentions eight in all.

AMPHITHEATRES.

The Amphitheatres and Theatres of Rome were at first built only of wood, and frequently taken to pieces after each representation. It was not till the time of Pompey, that a permanent theatre was built, as will be mentioned hereafter. Nero, intending to give an exhibition of games, erected an enormous amphitheatre of wood in the Campus Martius, which was finished in a year.^b But there was already one there of stone, and J. Cæsar had also erected one of wood.^c The first built within the city was by Statilius Taurus, who was a great friend of Augustus. Dio however says,^d that this was in the Campus Martius. It was burnt in the time of Nero; and some persons have supposed, that remains of it may still be seen in part of a wall near the Curia Innocenziana in the Piazza Citorio. Pliny mentions a most extraordinary contrivance in the formation of an

^b Tacit. An. lib. xiii. c. 31. Suet. c. 12.

^c Dio, lib. xliii.

^d Lib. li.

amphitheatre: he tells us,* that Curio built two theatres close to each other, but looking different ways; when the people had taken their diversion at the same time in both theatres, they were at the close of the day moved round by some machinery, and so formed one amphitheatre. The original words are worth inserting: “*Theatra duo juxta fecit amplissima ex ligno, cardinum singulorum versatili suspensa libramento: in quibus utrisque, antemeridiano ludorum spectaculo edito, inter sese aversis, ne invicem obstreperent scenæ, et repente circumactis, ut contra starent, postremo jam die, discedentibus tabulis et cornibus inter se coeuntibus, faciebat amphitheatrum, et gladiatorum spectacula edebat, ipsum magis auctorum spectaculum Romanum circumferens.*” This theatre was existing in the time of Cicero.^f Caligula began another amphitheatre in the Campus Martius, but it was not finished:^g this was most probably of stone. Nero erected one of wood, also in the Campus Martius, which was completed in the course of one year. Of the Amphitheatrum Castrense mention has been made already. All such buildings however were far eclipsed in grandeur of dimensions by the

COLOSSEUM.

This building is spelt sometimes, Colosseum, or Coliseum, and sometimes Coliseum. But the

* Lib. xxxvi. c. 15. ^f Epist. lib. viii. ep. 2. ^g Suet. c. 21.

former is adopted now as the correct mode; and the Roman antiquaries tell us, that it is derived from the immense size of the edifice, not from the colossal statue of Nero, which was placed here by Hadrian, and dedicated to the sun. The latter etymology is, however, given by Pomponius Lætus, in his work *De Antiquitatibus Urbis*; and we find the adjective *collosseus* used by Pliny,^h where he says, that Nero had himself painted of colossal size. So, also, Suetoniusⁱ mentions one Æsius Proculus, who, from his prodigious size, acquired the name of *Colosseus*. But Maffei, in his *Verona Illustrata*, argues against the notion that the statue of Nero could have given the appellation to the building. It was first placed in the vestibule to Nero's golden house; and there is no evidence that it ever stood in the amphitheatre. Maffei also produces a passage where the amphitheatre of Capua is called *Colossus*; and here the epithet must certainly have been given from the size of the building. It is altogether a name of modern application, the edifice having been known formerly by the name of the Flavian amphitheatre, in memory of Flavius Vespasian, who commenced it A. D. 72. Augustus was said to have meditated raising a similar building on the same spot.^k On the reverse of one of the coins of Titus, with this inscription, IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. VIII.

^h Lib. xxxv. c. 33.

ⁱ Calig. c. 35.

^k Sueton. Vesp. 9.

P. P. there is a representation of the amphitheatre.

It was four years in building, and was completed by his son Titus, who had five thousand wild beasts killed at the dedication of it,¹ and exhibited games for nearly one hundred days. We may suppose, that many Jewish prisoners formed part of the combatants in these exhibitions.^m Desgodetz says, that fifteen thousand men were employed for ten years upon the building; and then there was all the sculpture to finish. I should question his authority for this fact. Others have observed many proofs of precipitancy in the building, and conclude that Vespasian and Titus hurried the completion of it.ⁿ They erected it as a triumphal commemoration of their success in the Jewish war; and Venuti conjectures^o that the architect's name was Gaudentius, who was put to death for being a Christian. He grounds his conjecture merely upon an inscription found in the Church of S. Martina; but this appears evidently to be of a much later date, and probably alludes to some Christian, who was exposed in the amphitheatre to wild beasts.

¹ Eutropius, lib. vii. c. 21.

^m See Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 7.

ⁿ Vide Forsyth.

^o Vol. i. p. 39. Evelyn says, that it was built by 30,000 captive Jews.—*Memoirs*. I know no authority for this assertion. Titus brought 700 Jews to Rome to grace his triumph. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 5.

SIC. PREMIA. SERVAS. VESPASIANE. DIRE PREMI
 ATVS. ES. MORTE. GAUDENTI. LETARE
 CIVITAS. VBI. GLORIE. TVE. AVTORI PROMISIT
 ISTE. DAT. KRISTVS. OMNIA. TIBI
 QVI. ALIVM. PARAVIT. THEATR̄V. IN. CELO

If we compare the present appearance of the building with what it must have been formerly, it will be seen, that nearly two-thirds of the stone which composed it are actually gone. It is said to have suffered by earthquakes; and for a long while it served as a vast stone-quarry, out of which modern Rome was ornamented. The Palazzo Farnese, (which was built by Paul III.) that of Venice, and the Cancelleria, as well as the Porto di Ripetta, and Churches of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and S. Agostino, are known to have been built from it. Even the iron, which united one block of stone to another, has been pillaged, as may be seen by the holes made in them for that purpose.^p This spoliation probably commenced centuries ago; and there is a letter in Cassiodorus,^q in which Theodoric complains that no small quantity of brass and lead had been taken away from the ornaments of the city walls. He speaks, also, of temples and public buildings having suffered in this way. With respect to the holes which are observed in the stones of the Colos-

^p Sir R. K. Porter observed the same marks of spoliation in the ruins of Mourg-aub, the ancient Pasargadæ, in Persia.

^q Var. lib. iii. epist. 31.

seum, different opinions have been given as to the origin of them. The same thing may be observed in the Arches of Janus, Titus, and Constantine. A dissertation has been written upon the subject by Suaresius,^r but he does not come to much conclusion. He mentions several conjectures, among which that already given seems much the most probable. Others have supposed that the holes were made for the purpose of fastening in poles for the shops and booths constructed in the interior. But little or no evidence is produced of such a custom having existed. The Abbé Barthelemi tells us, that he examined the building with a view to see if there were any of these cramps still existing, and to ascertain whether they were of brass or iron. He succeeded in finding some, and they were all of iron. Ficoroni says, that he saw some of brass. The ancients generally made use of metal for this purpose, as we learn from Thucydides,^s in his description of the walls of the Piræus. The stones of these were united externally by iron and lead, without any cement: and in the walls of the Propylæa and Parthenon, iron and lead have been observed. Vitruvius calls these fastenings *Securiculæ*. Wood was also occasionally used. Blocks of cedar have been found, still entire, in the columns of the Parthenon; and the same has been noticed in buildings at Agrigentum. Flami-

^r Inserted in Sallengre's Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 318.

^s Lib. i. c. 93.

nius Vacca says,^t that when some stones were taken down from the Temple of Nerva, dovetails of wood were found between them, which were perfectly sound and fit for use; he adds, that no carpenter could tell what kind of wood it was.

But the paltry consideration of a few bits of metal was not the only cause which urged the Romans to destroy their noblest ornament. In the fury of the civil contentions which agitated Rome in the middle ages, the leaders of different factions found in the massy structures of their predecessors a number of strong fortresses. The family of the Annibaldi fortified themselves in the Colosseum; and before them, the Frangipani had occupied it for the same purpose.^u We may suppose that their soldiers had not much reverence for the building, except so far as it afforded them protection. In a letter of the Bishop of Orvieto, who was legate of Urban V. about the year 1362, he says, that he had not found any purchasers for the stones of the Colosseum, which he had offered for sale, except the Frangipani, who wished to use them for building their palace: and Barthelemi^x has produced a document of the fourteenth century, in which the contending parties agree to make the stones of the Colosseum

^t No. 89.

^u In the same manner *Les Chevaliers des Arenes de Nismes*, in France, derived their name and their consequence in the middle ages from having possession of the Amphitheatre at Nismes.

^x Mem. Acad. vol. xxviii. p. 585.

common property: "Et præterea, si omnes concordarent de faciendo Tiburtinam, quod esset commune id, quod foderetur." We know, that Robert Guiscard carried on a siege against the Colosseum for several days. Poggio also, who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, lets us into another most destructive cause of the ruin of the Colosseum. In his work upon the Mutability of Fortune he tells us, that great part of it had been burnt to make lime; a custom which seems to have been very general in those days; so that the ancient buildings were made to furnish both the stone and the cement for modern edifices. The numerous palaces which were built at that time for the Roman nobles, and generally for the nephews and relations of the popes, must bear the infamy of this spoliation.

But in spite of all this ill-usage, it is still perhaps the most wonderful monument remaining of Roman magnificence: it seems scarcely to be the ruin of one building only; and its majestic fragments are even magnified by the desolation and solitude which now prevail round it. We may insert here an expression used by our venerable countryman Bede, in the eighth century. Whether he ever visited Rome himself may be doubted, though the place of his burial is shown there; but he may well have received the account of this building from the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims. He says of it, "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand: when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall: when Rome falls, the world

“ will fall.”^y We may contrast with this the words of Martial, who saw it in all its splendour, when first erected :

Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis,
 Assiduus jactet nec Babylona labor :
 Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea
 Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant :
 Omnis Cæsareo cedat labor amphitheatro,
 Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.

De Spectac.

The pillage is at present stopped, and more particularly by a cross being erected in the middle of the *Arena*, which holds out for every kiss an indulgence of two hundred days. There are also fourteen *stations*^z placed round it, so that it is in fact consecrated to Christian worship, “ having “ been purified from the Pagan superstitions ” (as an inscription states) “ by the blood of the martyrs who suffered here.” The present pope has erected an enormous buttress of brick at the south-east side, by which means a great part of the outer wall has been preserved from falling. He has also employed workmen to repair the interior, at least a part of it, with a view to show the ancient arrangement of the seats.

The amphitheatre is, as usual, elliptical. The wall which surrounds the whole consisted of three

^y Vid. Ducange, Gloss. tom. ii. p. 407.

^z In Catholic countries, the different events which happened to our Saviour as he was going to the cross, are painted and placed at some distance from each other, so that the devout may stop and pray at each. These are called *stations*.

rows of arches, one above the other, with half-pillars between each arch: still higher than this was a fourth row of pilasters, with forty square windows, but without arches. The Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders were successively employed in the three first rows; and the pilasters of the fourth or upper row are also Corinthian. (Maffei seems to think, that the upper story should be called Composite, though he allows with Scamozio and other writers upon architecture that the capitals are Corinthian. It is only on account of the ornaments in the frieze, that he is inclined to the other opinion.) Within this outer wall were two other concentric ones, which did not rise so high as the former. This may be called the framework of the building; and the three walls together formed a double row of porticos, running round the whole, which communicated with each other, and received light from the outside.

/ The entrances were by eighty arches in the outer wall, which opened into the first Portico; from thence the people might pass by as many arches into the second, where they found at intervals staircases leading to the seats. Beside these staircases, there were twenty other ascents to the upper seats, immediately from the outer wall, where there are traces of a staircase at every fourth arch. So that the immense crowds which frequented this amphitheatre could enter and depart in a short time, and with little confusion. The arches were all numbered on the outside from I to LXXX; but as more than half of this

outer wall is now entirely gone, the numbers can only be seen from XXIII to LIV. Between XXXVIII and XXXIX is an arch a little wider than the rest, without a number, and with no cornice over it; which is supposed to have served as the private entrance from the palace of Titus on the Esquiline hill. This arch is about fourteen feet eight inches wide, and it may be presumed, that there were four such in the whole circuit of the building. On the coins which represent this building, of which there are not a few,^a we may observe a kind of projecting porch on one side, which probably belonged to this same entrance. There was another on the opposite side from the Palatine Hill: and a subterraneous passage has lately been discovered which communicated between the Palace and the amphitheatre.

Not a single step is now remaining of all the seats of stone, which rose in regular succession from the Arena. In all the amphitheatres the spectators sat upon the bare stone, except the senators, and they were allowed by Caligula to have cushions, as we learn from Dio,^b “Cushions were then for the first time placed upon the senators’ seats, that they might not sit upon the bare planks; and they were allowed to bring Thessalian caps into the theatre, that they might not suffer from the sun.” It appears

^a Particularly in the reigns of Titus, Gordian, and Alexander Severus.

^b Lib. lix.

from Juvenal, that this privilege was afterwards granted to the knights;

exeat, inquit,

Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,

Cujus res legi non sufficit.

Sat. iii. 154.

The seats only went as high as the top of the third story. Above this were staircases leading to a gallery in the fourth story, where the lower orders of people stood; or there was probably another series of seats here made of wood. It is certain, from the remains of the staircases, that many spectators were accommodated here; and above them was an apparatus for covering the amphitheatre in case of rain, as to the nature of which the learned do not seem to be agreed.

This custom was first introduced in the theatres by Q. Catulus, when he dedicated the Capitol. He borrowed it from Campania.^c What this covering was made of at first, does not appear. Pliny tells us,^d that Lentulus Spinther first introduced linen awnings at the Ludi Apollinares. This was U.C. 692. We learn from Lucretius that they were coloured;^e and Dio^f mentions a purple awning, in the middle of which was a figure of Nero driving his chariot, and stars of gold placed round him. It seems from Pliny,^g that this was in a temporary amphi-

^c Plin. lib. xix. c. 6. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4. Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 6.

^d Ibid.

^e iv. 73.

^f Lib. lxxiii.

^g Lib. xix. c. 6.

theatre built by Nero; and that this was the first time in which amphitheatres had been so covered. Caligula used to amuse himself with ordering these curtains to be drawn back, when the sun was excessively scorching, and hindering any person from going out.^h If the wind was very high, this covering could not be drawn over so large a space: the spectators then carried parasols, as we may collect from these epigrams:

Accipe quæ nimios vincant umbracula soles;
Sic licet et ventus, te tua vela tegent.

Mart. lib. xiv. ep. 28.

In Pompeiano tectus spectabo Theatro,
Nam populo ventus vela negare solet.

There are some projecting stones at the top of the Colosseum, which probably were connected with this contrivance. And in the upper story on the outside there is a series of corbels all round the building, three between each pilaster. There are grooves in them, and directly over them there are depressions in the cornice, apparently to admit upright poles, which supported the awning.

Different statements are given of the dimensions of this amphitheatre: but many agree in saying, that the circumference measures 1741 feet; the whole length 619; the whole width 513. The length of the Arena is 300 feet; the width of it 190; so that the exterior circuit approaches

^h Sueton. c. 26.

much nearer to the circular form than the interior. The height of the outer wall, now that the soil has been cleared away, which had risen twelve or thirteen feet, is stated at 179 feet; which is certainly very great, but hardly sufficient to warrant the assertion of Ammianus,ⁱ "that the human eyesight can scarcely reach the top of it:" or of Calpurnius, "that it almost reached the heavens."^k

According to P. Victor, 87,000 persons could be accommodated in the seats; and it seems probable, that 20,000 more could have found places above. This seems an almost incredible number; but it is perhaps still more extraordinary, that 100,000 persons should have been found so frequently to fill it, when the spectacles exhibited were a constant repetition of the same thing, and attended with the most disgusting barbarities. Yet we are told, that the eagerness to secure good places was such, that multitudes would flock to the Amphitheatre in the evening, and continue there all night, to be present at the first commencement of the games. It should be mentioned, however, that Maffei^l found room on the open seats for no more than 34,000. To show how greatly the Flavian Amphitheatre exceeded all others in size, I have brought into one view some of the dimensions of those which still remain to us. The numbers are probably not strictly accurate, but they are not wide from the truth.

ⁱ Lib. xvi. c. 10.

^k Eclog. vii. 23.

^l Verona Illustr. p. 4. lib. ii. c. 12.

	Whole length.	Whole width.	Length of Arena.	Width of Arena.	Number of Persons.
Colosseum . . .	619	513	300	190	107,000
Capua			250	150	
Verona	464	367	233	136	23,484
Nismes	438	343			17,000
Pompeii			174	96	
Pola ^m	436	346	426	335	
Pæstum			160	98	

The space in the middle, where the shows were exhibited, was called *Arena*, from the *sand* which was strewed over it, on account of the quantity of wild beasts that were slain there. An epigram of Martial alludes to this:

Nam duo de tenera juvenilia corpora turba
 Sanguineam rastris quæ renovabat humum,
 Sævus et infelix furiali dente peremit;
 Martia non vidit majus Arena nefas.

Lib. ii. ep. 75.

Arena came afterwards to signify an Amphitheatre generally, and a person who fought in it

^m The Arena of the Amphitheatre at Pola was longer and broader than that at the Colosseum. I have taken the proportions from the plan in Stuart's Athens.

was called *Arenarius*. Nero and other emperors occasionally covered it with more valuable materials, vermilion and chrysocolla, as Pliny expresses it.ⁿ

For the different modes in which wild beasts were exhibited, the reader is referred to the account already given of the sports of the Circus. To which it may be added, that prisoners, beside being made to fight with these savage animals, were, on some occasions, thrown in amongst them merely to be devoured. Such was the fate of S. Ignatius, who was brought from Antioch in the reign of Trajan, on purpose to be eaten by wild beasts in the Colosseum. The work seems to have been completed in a few minutes; and only the larger and harder bones remained. The Amphitheatre was unusually full at the time.^o Debtors, who had defrauded their creditors, were also brought forward in the Amphitheatre by order of Hadrian: but it is disputed whether they suffered corporal punishment, or were merely exposed to the insults of the spectators.^p

The wall, which surrounded the *Arena* sufficiently high to prevent the wild beasts from leaping over it, is still nearly entire. On the top of this wall was a balustrade, called *Podium*. The

ⁿ Lib. xxxiii. c. 27. Vide Suet. Calig.

^o That the Christians were exposed to wild beasts appears from the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. v. c. 1.

^p Decoctores bonorum suorum catamidiari in Amphitheatro et dimitti jussit. Spart. Hadrian.

row of seats nearest to the *Podium* was occupied by the first men of the senate, the consuls, prætors, &c. and what seems more extraordinary, the vestal virgins had particular places allotted to them, opposite to the tribunal of the prætor.^q These all sat in the lowest rows of seats, and looked through the balustrade. How many seats they occupied is not certain. Lipsius (in his *Treatise de Amphitheatro*) says four or five. The whole place occupied by them was called *orchestra*. Fourteen rows of seats above these were allotted to the knights, according to the law which was enacted for the theatres upon the motion of L. Otho.^r Lipsius supposes the wall and Podium to have been originally ten or fifteen feet high. To secure the spectators still farther from the wild beasts, strong nets were placed all round, which were made very splendid, as we learn from Calpurnius, (in Carino).

auro quoque torta refulgent
Retia, quæ totis in Arenam dentibus extant.

Pliny^s mentions a still greater instance of costliness in Nero, that the interstices of the nets were filled with amber. “Tanta copia succini

^q Suet. Aug. c. 44.

^r This was U.C. 686: but from the expressions of Cicero, pro Mur. 19, and Velleius, ii. 32. Otho seems rather to have re-established an old privilege, than to have created a new one.

^s Lib. xxxvii. c. 11.

“investa, ut retia arcendis feris podium protegentia succino nodarentur.” Bars of wood, which turned round were also placed for this purpose.^t Pliny tells us, that on occasion of the elephants having attempted to break out, iron *clathri* were erected; and Cæsar drew a stream of water called *Euripus* round the Arena, similar to that in the Circus Maximus. But this must have been in some amphitheatre older than the Colosseum.

The interior presents a most complete scene of destruction. By means of broken staircases, we may climb up a considerable height, and almost be lost in the labyrinth of ruins. It is from such a view of these remains, that the best idea of their vastness is formed: and if viewed by moonlight, when the shattered fragments of stone, and the shrubs which grow upon them, are seen at a distance in alternations of light and shade, the mind receives impressions of gratification and of melancholy, which perhaps no other prospect in the world could produce. In exploring the ruins at night, it is absolutely necessary for a party to keep together, or they may be lost in the different windings: the accounts which we read of robbers lurking in parts of the building are no longer to be feared: soldiers are constantly stationed there, to prevent such occurrences, and to protect the fabric. These, together with a solitary friar, who had taken up

^t Vide Ammian. lib. xix. et Calpurn.

his abode there, and collected alms from the faithful and the curious, were the only living beings which I met with.

In the excavations, which were made not long ago, some subterranean passages were found, and several compartments of building, which puzzled the antiquaries exceedingly. The whole was again covered up, and the Arena made level; so that these remains cannot now be seen; but an engraving was made of the appearance which the Arena then exhibited, and a person, who interests himself in the ruins of Rome, would do well to purchase it. Some have conceived these subterraneous passages to have been formed to contain water for the naval combats, which were sometimes exhibited here.^a In the account, which Lipsius published of this Amphitheatre, in 1598, there is a singular passage, which seems to bear upon this subject. After observing on the authority of Prudentius, that there was an altar in the Arena, he adds, "Under this altar were Cloacæ: at least such is the assertion of Andreas Fulvius, (de Mirabilibus Urbis, lib. i.) who makes a great part of the building to be supported by them. Whether he saw them himself, or some one else did, I cannot tell: if the tradition were true, I should doubt whether they were really *Cloacæ* for receiving and carrying off the water, which was originally here; or whether they were recep-

^a Dio, lib. lxii. c. 66.

“tacles for the wild beasts: or perhaps they served for the water which was used in the “Naumachiæ.” Such are the words of Lipsius. In the first of these three opinions he alludes to a passage in Martial, from which we learn, that there were pools of water here before the Amphitheatre was built:

Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.

Spectac. ep. ii.

They were the pools belonging to the grounds of Nero's golden house. Whatever may have been the use of the Cloacæ, the tradition preserved by Fulvius is clearly verified by the recent excavations.

Two events in the history of this building were also discovered, which are contained in the following inscriptions:

SALVIS CONN THEODOSIO ET PLACIDO VALENTINIANO AVGG *
RVFVS CAECINA FELIX LAMPADIVS VC ET IN L PRAEF VRBI
HARENAM AMPHITHEATRI A NOVO VNA CVM PODIO ET PORTIS
POSTICISSED ET REPARATIS SPECTACVLI GRADIBVS RESTITVIT

The stone is broken, and the Italic letters have been supplied by the Roman antiquaries. The inscription relates to some year between A.D. 425 and 435. Fl. Placidius took the surname of

* Perhaps this first line when restored should be

SALVIS DD NN THEODOSIO ET PLACIDO VICTORIOSISSIMIS PP

Vide Venuti, vol. i. p. 68. I doubt whether CONN ever occurs in abbreviation for Consulibus: it should be COSS.

Valentinianus in 425, and was Consul together with Theodosius in the years 425, 426, 430, and 435.

DECIVS MARIVS. VENANTIVS
BASILIVS VC ET IN L. PRAEF
 VRB PATRICIVS CONSVL
 ORDINARIVS ARENAM ET
 PODIVM QVAE ABOMI
 NANDI TERRAEMO
 TVS RVINA PROS
 TRAVIT SVMPTV PRO
 PRIO RESTITVIT.

That the amphitheatre suffered by various calamities, we collect from different authors. Capitolinus, in the life of Antoninus Pius, says, that it was restored by that emperor. Lampridius mentions another restoration of it after a fire by Elagabalus: and some repairs seem to have been required in the time of the Gordians.⁷ Eusebius in his Chronicle also tells us, that it was burnt in the reign of Decius.

THEATRES.

The Romans cannot be said to have been a people who did not patronize the drama, though they produced few dramatic writers of merit. In the composition of tragedy we scarcely possess any proofs of their genius: for the tragedies of Seneca, independent of their being spurious, as is

⁷ J. Capitol. Maximus and Balbinus, 1.

commonly supposed, surely would not be advanced in support of their claims. In comedy, if we except Plautus and Terence, we have nothing but fragments preserved to us, nor do we read of many celebrated writers in that line. Of Plautus and Terence it would be rashness to speak except in praise: but our commendation must certainly be qualified by the admission, which it is impossible to withhold, that they drew very largely and even translated whole plays from Greek originals. Quintilian candidly confesses, that in comedy the Romans had never equalled the grace and elegance of the Greeks:^a he even allows, that the Roman language seemed to him incapable of reaching that polished humour, which the Attic writers had alone possessed, and which was denied even to the other dialects of Greece. He asserts however, that the *Thyestes* of Varius was worthy of being compared with any tragedy which Greece had produced: and as Tiraboschi well observes,^{*} since Quintilian has shown himself so impartial, when speaking of the Roman comedy, the opinion deserves some attention, which he expresses upon the Roman tragedy.^b Velleius goes so far as to say, that Accius not only deserved to be compared

^a Lib. x. c. 1. See also A. Gellius, lib. ii. c. 23.

^{*} *Storia Letteraria d' Italia*, part iii. lib. 3. p. 209.

^b It is worthy of remark, that since the revival of letters Italy has shone less in dramatic compositions, than in any other department of literature, and less than any other polished nation of modern times.

with the Greek tragedians, but that his works held a high rank when placed with theirs.^c

That species of composition, which has obtained the name of *Satires*, seems however to be truly of Roman birth. Perhaps it might be more safe to say generally, of Italian birth; as other people of Italy seem clearly to have given the Romans a taste for satirical plays. Tiraboschi^d has some judicious reflections upon the impropriety of saying, that Rome owed all her advancement in the arts and sciences to Greece, if we mean the country which was properly called Greece. With much greater justice of expression he makes the Romans indebted to the inhabitants of Southern Italy, or *Magna Græcia*. The entire subjection of this part of Italy may be said to have taken place about the year of Rome 487, at which time there was little or no intercourse between Rome and Greece proper: and Tiraboschi proves, that Livius Andronicus, Nevius, Ennius, and Pacuvius, the earliest of the Roman poets, came from *Magna Græcia*.^e Livius introduced regular plays in Rome for the first time, about the year 513 U. C. but according to his namesake the historian,^f some kind of plays had been introduced 124 years before from Tuscany. The two exhibitions were probably of a totally different kind: and if Livius

^c Lib. ii. c. 9.

^d Part iii. lib. 1.

^e Suetonius, or whoever is the author of the *Treatise de Illustribus Grammaticis*, calls Livius and Ennius *Semi-græci*.

^f Lib. vii. c. 1.

Andronicus came from *Magna Græcia*, we need not suppose that the one arose out of and was a refinement upon the other. We may be incredulous as to the cause, which Livy assigns for the introduction of the Tuscan plays: but the fact is probably true, that they appeared for the first time during a great plague. It is possible, that the people had recourse to these amusements, or that the magistrates purposely introduced them, to divert their thoughts from the great public calamity: as in Paris there were twenty theatres open during the most horrid scenes of the revolution.^s The Romans, grave and sedate as they were, seem to have felt a peculiar relish for these exhibitions. If the farces, which were known by the name of *Atellan*, *Fescennine*,^h &c. were handed down to us, our opinion of Roman gravity might perhaps be lessened. Many probably never were composed, but the actors were left to follow their own invention, as to the jokes and indecencies which they uttered. That the whole spectacle was of the most indelicate kind, there seems abundant reason to believe. The old comedy of Athens, as we find it in the works of Aristophanes, was sufficiently offensive in this way: but in Rome the coarseness of the jest seems to have prevailed

^s I owe this remark to Mrs. H. More, in her work upon St. Paul, vol. i. There is the same observation in Burke's Letters on a Regicide Peace, vol. viii. p. 179.

^h Atella was a town of the Osci. Fescennium, of the Sabines or of the Tuscans, where it was the custom to sing marriage songs.

without any elegance of expression. Fortunately the regular dramatic writers of Rome, in looking to Greece as their model, selected the new comedy. Plautus was born U. C. 569, and we may suppose that his works began to be acted before 600. This was a prodigious improvement upon the Tuscan farces, and the Romans seem to have encouraged this advancement in national taste. Terence wrote his comedies between 587 and 593. In both these writers we find abundance of indecency: but it is mixed with a refinement of sentiment, which bespeaks an audience capable of appreciating true elegance.

Still however the Romans were never so fond of exhibitions purely dramatical, as were the more polished republicans of Athens. In the time of Pericles, when his city, though conspicuous for its love of the fine arts, was only rising to political importance, the Athenian mob had splendid theatres, to which they could daily resort. In the time of Plautus there was no theatre of stone in Rome; perhaps none which was permanent, but only temporary stages, erected of wood, on which the people were generally obliged to stand. It should be remembered, however, that Pausanias, who wrote in the second century, places the Roman theatres far above those of Greece for the magnificence of their structure, and the sumptuousness of their embellishments:¹ a remark, which proves nothing as to their real taste for the drama, or

¹ Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. ii. p. 259.

perhaps should be quoted in disparagement of it. L. Mummius, when he celebrated his triumph, U. C. 608, is said to have been the first who erected a theatre of wood after the Greek fashion: and one at Fidenæ having fallen down, by which several people were killed, a decree of the senate was passed to ensure the strength of such buildings. In the year of Rome 601, L. Cassius began to build a theatre, and had nearly finished it, but P. C. Scipio Nasica, who was then consul, got a decree of the senate for its destruction, as being injurious to public morals.^k There was also a law passed, that in the city, or within a mile of it, no seats should be erected at the games, but that all persons should be obliged to stand up.^l Tacitus tells us, that it was brought as an accusation against Pompey by the older citizens, that he had built a permanent theatre. For before his time a temporary stage was erected with moveable seats. But it was a motive of economy which advised the building a permanent theatre, in preference to the enormous expense of erecting and fitting up one of wood every year. Some verses of Ausonius relate to this:

Ædilis olim scenam tabulatam dabat,
Subito excitatam, nulla mole saxeæ.
Muræna sic et Gallius (nota eloquar)

^k Liv. epit. lib. xlviii. Appian. lib. i. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4. Tertullian says, that the censors did this *often*. De Spectac. 10.

^l Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4.

Postquam potentes, nec verentes sumptuum
 Nomen perenne crediderunt, si semel
 Constructa moles saxeo fundamine
 In omne tempus conderet ludis locum;
 Cuneata crevit hæc theatri immanitas.
 Pompeius hunc, et Balbus et Cæsar dedit
 Octavianus, concertantes sumptibus.

Prol. Sap. xiv. &c.

The expense at which some of the temporary theatres were erected, is almost incredible. The passage in Pliny, which describes it, deserves to be given at length.^m “ When M. Scaurus was
 “ Ædile, he constructed a work which exceeded
 “ any ever completed by the hand of man, not
 “ only if we take those which were merely temporary, but which were meant to last for ever.
 “ This was a theatre. The stage consisted of
 “ three parts, with 360 columns in the height of
 “ it. The lower part of the stage was of marble,
 “ the middle of glass, a species of luxury, which,
 “ even in later times, has never been heard of.
 “ The columns at the top were of gilt planks;
 “ those at the bottom were thirty-eight feet high.
 “ Between the pillars there were 3000 bronze
 “ statues. It held 80,000 persons; whereas Pompey’s Theatre, though the city is so much increased, and the population so much greater,
 “ serves only for 40,000. The rest of the decorations, such as *Attalic* dresses, paintings, and
 “ other furniture for the stage, was in such quan-

^m Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.

“ tity, that the superfluous luxuries being carried
 “ to his Tusculan Villa for domestic consumption,
 “ and the villa being burnt by some servants who
 “ were in a passion, the loss was estimated at
 “ 100,000,000 sesterces” (about £807,291). In
 another place he says, that it only lasted one
 month. Scaurus was *Ædile* U.C. 694. The
 double theatre mentioned by Pliny,ⁿ and which
 has been described at length, p. 39, was also
 temporary. Even after theatres of stone were
 introduced, they were occasionally erected of
 wood; and Vitruvius (who wrote under Augustus)
 speaks of several theatres being built annually in
 Rome.^o

In the course of their history we read but of
 three theatres of stone which were of any par-
 ticular note, those of Pompey, Marcellus, and
 Balbus. Trajan built one in the Campus Martius,
 which was pulled down by Hadrian.^p The am-
 phitheatre possessed more attraction for the con-
 querors of the world; and this species of build-
 ing, together with the sanguinary combats exhi-
 bited in it, were probably inventions of their own.
 The reason which Horace assigns for dramatic
 poetry being so neglected at Rome, is probably
 true, though not the only one. The people who
 frequented the theatres went there to gratify their
 ears and eyes more than their intellect, and were
 as impatient of sitting out the representation of a

ⁿ Lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

^o Lib. v. 5.

^p Spartian. Hadrian. 9.

long tragedy, as they were incapable of appreciating its beauties: they would frequently interrupt the representation by demanding some brilliant spectacle, or some sanguinary combat: and the poets were little inclined to encounter this mortification, or to submit their compositions to such irrational judges; they wisely preferred private recitations before an audience both able and willing to appreciate their labours.

*Sæpe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
Quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati,
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.*

Epist. lib. ii. ep. 1, 182.

Before Vespasian commenced the Colossæum, the Circus was used for these spectacles. So it continued after the introduction of amphitheatres; but in nearly all the towns, where traces of the Romans remain, some vestiges of an amphitheatre are to be found,^a whereas the theatres are comparatively few.

THEATRE OF POMPEY.

The first theatre of stone which was erected in Rome was that of Pompey. It has been already

^a Ruins of them may be seen at Pompeii, Capua, Pozzuoli, Verona, Pæstum, Cumæ, Alba, Minturnæ, Ocriculi, Lucca, Arezzo, Nismes, Arles, Perigueux, Avenche, Hispalis, Corinth, Syracuse, Catania, &c. &c.

mentioned, that he was censured by the older and graver citizens for introducing such a corruption of the public morals; and the means which he took to obviate the charge are rather curious. On the top of the building was a temple, so that the seats of the theatre appeared as if they were steps leading up to the religious edifice; and when the day of dedication arrived, the people were invited not as to a theatre, but as to a temple. Tertullian mentions this quibble, and ends his relation of it with these words, "ita *damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo prætexit.*"^r This writer calls the temple that of *Venus*, which he probably did to make the most of his story; for A. Gellius says,^s it was consecrated to *Victory*. Perhaps Pliny gives us the true account (and he lived much nearer to the time) when he says,^t that *Venus Victrix* was the deity, with which account Plutarch agrees.^u The authors also differ as to the year. According to Tertullian, the theatre and the temple were both dedicated by one act. But there is a difficulty in following this account. The games, which preceded the dedication of the theatre, were undoubtedly given in Pompey's second Consulship. Cicero, who must have known, expressly says so;^x as does Pliny. He was consul, for the second time, U.C. 698; for the third, in 701.

^r De Spectac. 10.^s Lib. x. c. 1.^t Lib. viii. c. 7.^u In Pompeio.^x De Offic. lib. ii. 16. Epist. ad Fam. lib. vii. ep. 1.

It seems equally certain, that the temple was not dedicated till his third consulship; the anecdote quoted at p. 169, from A. Gellius, proves that it must have been so. It may therefore be supposed, that after having exhibited the games he deferred the dedication of the theatre, from some cause or other, till three years after. But the new theatre was certainly opened in his second consulship, since dramatic representations, upon a grand scale, formed part of the amusements. The dedication was a religious ceremony, with which games given by the founder of the building may have had no connexion. According to Plutarch, the theatre was a copy of that at Mitylene, but on a more splendid scale. Pliny also speaks in high terms of the magnificence of its ornaments.¹ Dio says, that it was not built by Pompey, but by his freedman Demetrius, who, as we learn from another quarter, was reported to be richer than his master.² However, it always went by the name of Pompey; who, by the spoils of the Mithridatic war, was more likely than his freedman to have acquired funds for such a work: and we know, that upon his return home he distributed about three millions of our money among his soldiers.³

The games, to which I have already alluded, were extremely magnificent, and lasted five days. They consisted of gladiators, wild beasts, and

¹ Lib. vii. c. 3.

² Seneca de Tranquil. c. 8.

³ Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 2.

dramatic performances both in tragedy and comedy. Cicero seems to have thought all the plays remarkably dull. "What pleasure," he says, "could it afford to a man of taste, to see a thousand mules prancing about the stage in the tragedy of Clytæmnestra, or whole regiments of horse, accoutred in foreign armour, in that of the Trojan Horse?"

The theatre suffered from fire, and Tiberius began to repair it; but Caligula finished it, as we learn from Suetonius.^b It was injured by fire, also, in the reigns of Claudius, Titus, and Philip. Nero covered it with gold during one day, to show it to Tiridates, who came to receive the crown of Armenia from his hands.^c In the time of Honorius it seems to have been considered the principal theatre, if not the only one;^d and in the middle of the sixth century Theodoric again repaired it. We learn this from Cassiodorus, who also describes the vast solidity of the building. Having mentioned the repair, he adds, "What canst not thou destroy, age, who hast shaken such mighty works? It would have been thought easier for mountains to give way, than the solidity with which this theatre is held together; since such was the rocky construction of the whole mass, that it seemed to have been itself a work of nature, with art superadded. We perhaps should not have made these obser-

^b Tib. 47, and Calig. c. 21. ^c Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 10.

^d Claudian, in 1 Cons. Stil. 403.

“ vations, if we had not happened to see the
“ arrangement of it; for instance, the rows of
“ seats, which are arched with hanging rocks,
“ and unite by concealed joinings into such ele-
“ gant forms, that you would rather believe them
“ to be caverns in a lofty mountain, than guess
“ them to be any work of art.” At the end,
Theodoric, in whose name this epistle is written,
tells the patrician, Symmachus, that he will pay
the expense, whether it required to be kept toge-
ther by large buttresses or to be rebuilt.^e

During the middle ages, this, like other ancient
buildings, was turned into a fortification; and in
the eleventh and twelfth centuries was occupied
by the Orsini family.

It was large enough to contain forty thousand
persons. Of this theatre we can scarcely be said
to have any remains. The situation of it was
between the church of S. Andrea della Valle,
and the Ponte Sisto; and some houses still pre-
serve a curved form, which is to be ascribed to
the ancient theatre. In the fragments of ancient
Rome, preserved in the Capitol, some portion of
it may be observed. From these and from con-
jecture Bufalino, in his *Ichnography of Rome*,
gives a plan of the whole building. Some of the
stone was employed in building the Cancelleria.
Pompey also built a portico near his Theatre, as
Augustus did afterwards near that of Marcellus.
It is described as being a most splendid work, to

^e Theodoric to Symmachus, Epist. li. lib. 4.

which, beside several rows of pillars, there was a grove of trees attached, and other luxuries.^f

I may take this opportunity of mentioning the statue, supposed to be that of Pompey, at the foot of which Cæsar fell, and which is now in the Spada palace. It was found in the Strada de' Leutari, near the *Cancellaria*, in the year 1553: and as the head lay under one house, and the rest of the body under another, the two proprietors were on the point of dividing the statue, when the pope interposed and rescued it from this misfortune.^g It stood originally in the place which Pompey had built near his theatre for the senate to assemble in: but we know from Suetonius,^h that Augustus removed it to stand opposite the Basilica of Pompey. Winkelmannⁱ expresses some doubts whether it is really a statue of the great man whose name it bears. The head resembles others which remain to us of Pompey: but it seems not to have been originally made for the body. The left hand holds a globe.

THEATRE OF MARCELLUS.

The second theatre in Rome was that which bears the name of Marcellus, though it was begun by J. Cæsar, and finished by Augustus. It has been asserted that Vitruvius was the architect of

^f Martial. lib. ii. ep. 14. Propert. lib. ii. el. 32, 11; ib. iv. el. 8, 75. v. p. 163.

^g Fl. Vacca, Mem. lvii.

^h Aug. c. xxxi.

ⁱ Lib. vi. c. 5. § 27.

it, but there seems no good evidence to support such an opinion. He speaks highly in commendation of the beauty of the building. It was dedicated U.C. 743.^k The stage was repaired by Vespasian; and it seems after that to have suffered by fire or some other calamity, as Lamprius mentions the intention of Alexander Severus to repair it.^l Considerable remains of it are still to be seen in the Piazza Montanara: and Baldasare Peruzzi, who built the Savelli Palace upon the site of it, made out a plan of the whole, which was published by his pupil Serlio. It is the semicircular outer wall which has survived, and probably much more than is commonly seen is buried in the neighbouring houses. The ruins of it have made quite a hill, on which the Savelli palace is built: and some of the stone was employed in building the Palazzo Farnese.

It is supposed to have been formed originally of four stories, but the two upper ones are entirely gone, and the lower one is half buried. This last is of the Doric order, and it may be observed that the pillars have no bases: they are of that "tall and effeminate Doric," which is found in other buildings at Rome.^m The story above it is Ionic, and they are considered as a very good specimen of the union of the two orders. The third and fourth stories were probably Corinthian, as in the Colosseum. The moderns do not much admire this mixture of orders; but we have these

^k Plin. lib. viii. c. 25.

^l C. 44.

^m Dodwell.

two instances of it in periods when taste certainly was not on the decline; and the magnificent Temple of Minerva Alea, at Tegea in Arcadia, was composed of the three orders: above the Doric was the Corinthian, and above that the Ionic.^a There were seats for thirty thousand spectators in this theatre.

Some of the entrances may be seen, by which the people passed into the theatre; and from plans of ancient Rome in the Capitol, part of the stage and proscenium may be made out. In the form of the stage little or no variation seems to have prevailed in the Roman theatres, so that this fragment possesses little value. I annex an engraving of it from the work of Bellori, compared with my own sketch. Serlio, in his work upon architecture, makes out a plan of the whole theatre.^o

THEATRE OF BALBUS.

This had its name from L. Cornelius Balbus, who built it at the exhortation of Augustus, U. C. 741.^p He was possessed of so much wealth, that he left by will twenty-five drachms to every Roman. This theatre was calculated to contain thirty thousand people.^q It was dedicated by Claudius. According to Pliny^r there were four

^a Pausan. lib. viii. c. 4, 46. Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. ii. p. 419.

^o Lib. iii.


^q P. Victor.

^p Suet. Aug. c. xxix.

^r Lib. xxxvi. c. 7.

columns of onyx in it, which were considered very remarkable. No remains of this theatre now exist, and the situation of it is not known for certain; but it is supposed that it stood near the Palazzo Cenci, and that the hill on which that palace stands was formed by the ruins of the theatre.

CHURCHES OF ROME.



It has been observed already, that the curiosities of Rome may be conveniently divided into the Antiquities, the Churches, and the Palaces. Having treated of the first of these divisions, we may now proceed to the second.

The Churches of Rome are in many respects remarkable to a stranger, and perhaps to the English stranger more particularly. In travelling through any Catholic country, a Protestant must necessarily be struck with the difference of ornaments and decorations in the places of public worship. The Englishman, accustomed to great simplicity in the forms and ceremonies of devotion at home, sees much which surprises and shocks him in the Churches of Catholic countries. But in the Netherlands, in France, in Switzerland, and generally in those districts through which he passes on his road to Italy, they are the ceremonies of religion, which for the most part seem to him so extraordinary. The exterior of the Churches themselves will frequently bring

to his recollection those of his own country: and the pointed style of architecture, as it exists on the continent, is sufficiently allied to that which is so much the boast of his native land, as to set the difference between the several structures in no very strong light. But in Rome the contrast is in every way remarkable. There is something in the interior of a Roman church, which is wholly at variance with the prevailing ecclesiastical architecture of England; and at the same time much superior in taste to the religious edifices of most other Catholic countries.

In the first place, the total absence of the Gothic or pointed style of architecture in the Roman churches, can hardly fail to be noticed by an English eye. I believe it may be asserted, that not a single specimen of what is called (properly or improperly) Gothic architecture, is to be found within the walls of Rome.* The windows of the north aisle of St. Paul's, without the walls, are the only instances which I observed near to Rome: these have certainly a close resemblance to the windows of many of our own parish churches, and are said to have been added in the tenth century. In the tribune of St. John Lateran are four pointed arches of the date of 1288: but the circumstance of their being pointed is the only one which connects them with that singular form of architecture, so prevalent in the

* A friend informs me that some specimens may be seen in the Church of Ara Celi.

North and in England: they are wholly without mullions, or any other ornament whatsoever peculiar to that style. These are the only two specimens in or near the walls of Rome, which I could find; and it may therefore be stated as a singular fact in the history of Roman architecture, that though there are churches of every age, and many contemporary with the introduction of the pointed style into Italy and other parts of Europe, yet the pointed arch and its attending ornaments have not found their way into the city of Rome.

The north gate in the transept of the old church of S. John Lateran appears however to have been Gothic. It is engraved in the work of Ciampini upon the buildings of Constantine.^b He states it to have been built by Gregory XI. who reigned 1370-8. The same plate does not show any other part of the church to have been in the same style. His view of part of the old church of St. Peter also represents six windows, which are themselves round at top, but the compartments of each have tracery and mullions like those in our Gothic churches. All the windows on the sides seem also to have been of the same kind.

Much speculation might arise from the above observation, and many conjectures might be raised as to the cause of the absence of the pointed style from Rome. The difficulty is not

^b Tab. v.

diminished by this style being found in various parts of the Roman states at no great distance from the capital; nor can the fact be explained by supposing this order to have travelled thus far in a southward direction, and there to have stopped: for in Naples there are not a few specimens, in tolerably correct taste, though there is a great mixture of Grecian in many churches, which would otherwise be called Gothic. The introduction of the pointed style into Naples might perhaps be explained: at least if the result of my observation be accurate, that the cathedral is the oldest Gothic building in that capital, the adoption of that style may be attributed to Charles of Anjou being its founder in 1280, and introducing the fashion which had gained such firm footing in his own country. But Naples is not the only city south of Rome where this style is to be found: even in Sicily there are many churches decidedly older than the thirteenth century, which have the pointed arch. So that the question still remains to be answered, why there should be no churches of Gothic or pointed architecture in Rome.

The traveller in his journey to this city from the Alps will have observed two styles to be mostly prevalent. In Lombardy, particularly in the cities of Placentia, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, &c. he will have recognized a great resemblance to what is apt to be called Saxon architecture in England; which term I may adopt for the sake of brevity, however incorrect may

have been its original application. The same solidity in the columns, the invariable adoption of the round arch without any mixture of the pointed in the same building, that corrupt and degenerate resemblance to Grecian models, particularly in the capitals, but not at all in the proportions, those grotesque ornaments formed of real or imaginary animals, which characterize our Saxon edifices, may all be observed in those towns which I have specified above. This order of architecture seems mostly to be confined to the plains of Lombardy, bounded to the south by the Appennines. With some indeed it has obtained the appellation of Lombard architecture.

Though it is not very material what terms we use to describe any particular style, provided we explain our use of them, yet it may be well to observe, that the terms Gothic and Lombard, as applied to architecture, may be demonstrated to be incorrect with respect to Italy. For as the Goths preceded the Lombards in their possession of that country, the mode of building introduced by the former (if indeed they introduced any) must have been prior to that of the latter: but as the Lombard architecture is evidently allied to our Saxon, and we know, that in the north the Saxon was considerably more ancient than the pointed style, we come to an opposite conclusion as to their relative antiquity. We should come to the same conclusion also from examining the churches of Italy, as well as those of the north of Europe. This may be added to

the many arguments, which show, that the term *Gothic* is incorrect, as we use it. For as both the above conclusions cannot be true, and the one which makes the Lombard architecture to be most ancient is confirmed by observation, we must infer, that the terms themselves are incorrectly used, and that the style, which is later than that of the Lombards, cannot be referred to the Goths, who preceded them. The Lombard architecture, as already stated, prevails mostly in the country now called Lombardy; from which it might be presumed, that the term was not given without reason. The Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, (that is, the country which now goes by the name of Hungary,) but whether that will throw any light upon the history of our Saxon architecture, is a point which I do not presume to meddle with.

Upon entering Tuscany the traveller will find a new style of building, and one to which his eye has been more familiar in the Gothic edifices of his own country. If the distinction did not seem fanciful, I should be inclined to say, that at the time when the churches of Lombardy and Tuscany were built, each of these styles was known and followed; but in Lombardy the Saxon became the prevailing order, borrowing some occasional ornaments from the Gothic; whereas in Tuscany the pointed became the ruling form, with several admixtures of the more heavy and solid Saxon. The Cathedral of Florence was begun in 1298, and the arches are all

pointed: that of Pisa is much older, having certainly been built in 1063, if not earlier. The style both within and without is not the pointed; but in the baptistery, a circular building close to the west end of the cathedral, there is a row of arches on the outside decidedly Gothic. This building bears the date of 1152.

To assign a reason for the pointed style being found in some parts of Italy and not in others, is far beyond my pretensions; as it would involve in some measure the intricate question, Whence is the origin of Gothic architecture? To those who would give the merit of the invention to the Italians, I never can subscribe. At least it is singular, that the northern architects, who must in that case have imported it from Italy, should have made such prodigious improvements in the good taste and elegance of the order, without imparting any of their rules to their former masters. For I can venture to assert, that any specimen of that light and majestic architecture which prevails in our English cathedrals, and of which the unfinished cathedral of Cologne may be quoted as a noble instance on the continent, will in vain be sought for in Italy. The finest specimen of Gothic architecture in Italy, and perhaps in one sense in the world, is at Milan: but the cathedral there is not older than the fourteenth century;^c and its florid de-

^c It was built in 1386.

corations and admixture of Grecian orders clearly show the decline of Gothic architecture.

Another hypothesis, which would bring it from the east, is also attended with considerable difficulties. From descriptions, which we have of oriental buildings, the notion certainly does not appear to be without foundation: but if it was imported into the west by means of the Crusades, or any other early intercourse between the two continents, should we not naturally find the earliest specimens of it in Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, those maritime Republics, which so long monopolised the whole commerce of the east, which transported the Crusaders to and from their adventurous expeditions, and were the first to introduce a spirit of luxury and refinement in their public and private buildings? Though a few specimens of the pointed style may be found in each of these cities, yet surely they are neither frequent nor pure enough to lead to the conclusion, that they were the first examples seen in Europe, after the order had been imported from the east. There are Gothic buildings in the north of Europe, which are older than any in Italy, and at all events the style has been carried to a far greater elegance and perfection on this side of the Alps: so that an insuperable difficulty would seem to attend that hypothesis, which would derive the origin of it from Italy; and one almost equally great would be found in supposing it to have been brought from the east, in the communication which took

place between Europe and Asia in the middle ages.

The Italians themselves, at least the Romans, are very ignorant of what we mean by the term Gothic, applying it indiscriminately to the pointed and to the Saxon styles: they pretend to hold it in great contempt; and seem to think, that no building in that taste can deserve any admiration from a classical eye. The epithets, which they apply to these styles, are such as *Greco-barbaro*, *Arabo-Tedesco*, and such like; from which little can be proved as to the origin of the order. If it prove any thing, it would tend to show, that what we call Gothic architecture came originally from the east, and was first made known to the Italians by the Germans.

The subject has been much discussed by the Italian antiquaries; amongst whom two of their most learned writers, Muratori and Maffei, assign a much later origin to this style of architecture. Tiraboschi however seems inclined (or rather he was so inclined in his first edition) to think, that the Goths were the introducers of the pointed style, or, according to his own phrase, that they were the corrupters of architecture in Italy. Mr. Eustace quotes a passage from Cassiodorus, for which, I imagine, he is indebted to Tiraboschi, who advances it in support of his theory. The passage is this:^d “ Quid dicamus columnarum
“ junceam proceritatem? moles illas sublimissimas

^d Lib. vii. Var. form. 15.

“ fabricarum, quasi quibusdam erectis hastilibus
“ contineri, et substantiæ qualitate concavis cana-
“ libus excavatas, ut magis ipsas æstimes fuisse
“ transfusas; alias ceris iudices factum, quod
“ metallis durissimis videas expolitum.” I confess, that I cannot see much description of Gothic architecture here, and no mention whatever of the pointed arch. The Abbé Fea however* has entirely destroyed the weight of this passage, by showing, that Cassiodorus was speaking of the ancient Roman buildings, which existed in his time. This is quite evident, and Tiraboschi gives up the passage, which Eustace ought also to have done. Frisi, a writer upon this subject, says, that one of the first examples of a series of arches upon insulated columns, instead of these columns being united, as formerly, by horizontal architraves, is in the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna, which was begun in the time of Amalasuntha, Queen of the Goths, about A. D. 530. But this can scarcely be said to prove much as to the pointed style; and Tiraboschi himself allows, that in the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, (which was built towards the end of the third century,) there are remains in the same manner of building. So there are in the baths of this emperor at Rome. To which may be added two other instances: the church of S. Constantia, by some called a temple of Bacchus, near to Rome, and out of the Porta Pia. It is certainly as old as the time of Constan-

* Vide Winkelmann, tom. iii. p. 272.

tine, and by some is thought to be much older. The other is the church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cælian hill. An engraving of it may be seen in the work of Desgodetz, who affirms, without expressing any doubt, that it was built in the reign of Claudius. He probably means, that it was the temple which Agrippina began to erect in honour of Claudius, and which was finished by Vespasian.^f Other writers however suppose, that the building is not older than the fifth century. It is a circular building, with two concentric rows of pillars. The exterior row supports a series of arches. The windows also are curious, and might almost be thought a step towards those, which are so common in our Gothic churches. The work above alluded to represents them thus. [*See the Plate.*]

Certain it is, that the term *Gothic* has in Italy been synonymous with German or Transalpine: and if the taste of the Roman architects may be considered as important in the question, it would appear evident that the south of Italy had taken no part in producing this style of architecture; but that on the contrary it was held almost in abhorrence, and considered a decided proof of the bad taste of those nations, who had not drawn their ideas from Italian models. This partly leads me back to the former question, how the absence of all Gothic architecture is to be accounted for in Rome? And here I take the term Gothic in

^f Sueton. Vesp. c. 9.

the same extended sense as the Romans do: for neither the pointed style, nor that which we call Saxon, and which is so common in Lombardy, is to be found there.

Upon this subject I have little to add. One remark however I shall venture to make, which, though it leave the origin of Gothic architecture unexplained, or rather assumes it to be northern, may perhaps afford a solution of the other question, why no specimen of it is to be found in Rome? Whatever may be the origin of our northern styles, the Italians call them both German, and at Rome they apply the term *Gothic* to one as much as to the other. Pisa seems to have set the example to Florence. From these several circumstances it appears not unreasonable to suppose, that as Pisa steadily adhered to the Ghibelline party, and Rome was the head of the Guelphic, the cause of the northern styles being adopted and united at Pisa may be ascribed to the connexion of that city with Germany: whereas the hatred between the Romans and Germans will explain the opposite fact in Rome. Whatever value may be attached to these remarks, the traveller, who has examined the churches of Rome with this view, will agree, that the pointed style has not prevailed there.

The Roman architects have invariably studied the Grecian models; and whatever fault may be found in separate parts, it must be allowed, that the churches of this city present some of the most splendid specimens of architecture, which can be found in modern times. The difference between

these churches and our own has been before observed to be very considerable. The following may be some of the principal points in which they differ. In England we know but little of Italian architects: I mean those of the school of Palladio, Borromini, Sansovino San Michele, Fontana, &c. Some of our houses have been constructed after their directions; but with very few exceptions they have contributed nothing to the designs of our churches. The whole number indeed of churches built in England upon the Grecian style is small: and most of them are of late date, where the architects, however unsuccessful they may have been, have endeavoured to copy the remains of antiquity, and to adhere to the simplicity of their originals more closely than their predecessors in Italy. I am aware, that I shall offend many by underrating the merits of Palladio, and what may be called the Italian school of architecture: for I deny, that it is to be identified with the Grecian, nor can I conceive, that the inventors of it meant that it should be so. They undoubtedly intended to strike out a variety of their own; and as such, we may venture to criticise the Italian structures of the sixteenth century, without being accused of calling in question the established perfections of the Grecian orders. Of these I profess to be a most humble, but most unqualified admirer: and it is my admiration of their simplicity, which leads me to censure the innovations introduced by the Italian architects.

The object of this school seems to have been

to break the simplicity of the Grecian orders into numerous parts, and to overload them with ornament. The Doric may perhaps be heavy, but the Italian variation of it is florid. The former may present too great a mass of solid masonry, but in the latter the eye finds nothing to dwell upon: all is overloaded and broken into parts: every column must be ornamented: every pediment must be divided, and charged with some device; nor can there be any space of a few feet in dimensions, which is not filled up with niches, urns, and statues. To these remarks there will of course be many exceptions; where the ancient models have been strictly followed, they will necessarily be inapplicable: but my meaning is, that in many of those buildings which the Italians admire, there is abundance of bad taste and meretricious ornament.* This is particularly the case in many of the Roman churches: and consequently they will not obtain from an English eye that admiration, which a lover of Grecian architecture in Italy thinks them entitled to command.

After what has been said above, it would be needless to mention the absence of any part of Gothic architecture as another point of difference; but few English travellers can have failed to observe the total want of those spires and

* Since the first edition of this work was printed, I find from Dodwell's Travels in Greece, (vol. i. 387.) that the innovations of Italian architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been condemned by an Italian writer, Milizio *Della belle Arti del Disegno*, p. 191.

towers, which they have been apt to class among the greatest ornaments of their own towns. I say total want; because though there may be a few towers rising above the other buildings, yet they can hardly exceed half-a-dozen in number, are generally of brick,^a by no means high, and altogether much more disfiguring than ornamental. Of spires there is absolutely not a single specimen: the deficiency is made up in cupolas, of which there is a prodigious number, but these do not make much show, particularly when viewed from the streets, and the very form of them, as connected with religious buildings, is itself a rarity to the English eye. So much for the exterior of the churches.

In the interior the English traveller will also find many points of difference, when he compares them with similar structures in his own country. By the time he has reached Rome, he will have become tolerably accustomed to the singular appendages upon Roman Catholic worship: at first he may have thought these ornaments (for they are intended to be such) in extremely bad taste, if not irreverent: but in Rome it must be allowed that a much better taste prevails. The interior of the churches is frequently splendid, not to say superfluously gorgeous: but even Protestant scruples will find little to be offended with, though much which might be altered or retrenched.

^a One disfigures S. Maria Maggiore, and another the church built near the Temple of Nerva.

Rome, formerly the mistress of the world, and for some centuries the capital of a new empire, that of superstition, still stands pre-eminently distinguished among the countries which acknowledge her supremacy, and in the pomp and circumstances of religion far eclipses them all. In entering a Roman church I have felt an awe and a sense of the dignity of the Catholic religion, to which I had been a stranger in other parts of the continent. There are some points indeed peculiar to Rome, and which not only the sacred edifices of our own country, but even those of the rest of Italy, must necessarily want. In Rome we probably see churches of a greater antiquity than any other country can boast: we have there a kind of history and chronological series of religious architecture and religious customs: we find churches, which if not originally built for heathen temples, at least preserve the form of them, and may be considered as supplying the connecting link between the Pagan and Christian worship; in those of a later date we have some of the finest remains of antiquity consecrated to a better and holier purpose: we find whole rows of columns, and marble of all descriptions and sizes, taken from the ruins of ancient buildings, and serving as ornaments to more modern temples; and sometimes even the actual statues, which had borne the names of heathen deities, transformed, and as it were baptized, to suit the equally numerous catalogue of Christian saints. The astonishing quantity of these remains may be conjectured

from a calculation made some time ago by an inhabitant of Rome, that there were 14,000 Granite columns in the city, nearly all of which may be considered ancient: and I find in Spence's *Anecdotes*,ⁱ that the antique columns of marble amount to 6,300.

The pictures, which are a striking feature in all Catholic churches, when contrasted with places of worship in Protestant countries, command peculiar attention in Rome. Some of the finest works of the greatest masters were painted for religious societies, and some of them still preserve their original situations. But beside the pictures, the ceilings are frequently painted; and in no respect are the churches of this capital more conspicuous, than for the frescos which adorn their roofs.

The English traveller will also observe, and probably lament, the absence of painted glass in the Roman churches. Leo III. who reigned about the year 800, is said to have put coloured glass into S. John Lateran and St. Peter's.^k But there is none now in the whole of Rome, and throughout Italy it is by no means so common as in the north. The French say, that the Italians learnt what they know of this art from a painter of Marseilles, who worked at Rome under Julius II.

Having premised these observations with respect to the churches of Rome in general, we may

ⁱ Page 96.

^k Anastasius.

now proceed to make some remarks upon those which hold the principal rank for size, for beauty, or for antiquity. It is right to begin first with the Basilicæ. These are a kind of metropolitan churches, having other parishes subordinate to them. The term *Basilica*, among the ancient Romans, signified a building where causes were heard, ambassadors received, public business transacted, &c. &c. Shops were erected round them, in which various articles were sold. The form was an oblong; the middle of which was an open space to walk in, called *Testudo*, and which we should now call the nave; both of which terms are taken from the appearance of the wooden roof.¹ On each side of this was one or more rows of pillars, according to the scale of the building, which formed what we should call side aisles, and which the ancients termed *porticus*. The end of the *Testudo* was finished in a curved form, and called *Tribunal*, because causes were heard there.^m Thus we find in Prudentius,

Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime Tribunal
Tollitur, Antistes prædicat unde Deum.

Hymn. S. Hippolyti.

Hence the term *Tribune* is applied to that end of the Roman churches which is behind the high altar, and which in the oldest churches generally

¹ The Apostolical Constitutions, which are probably as old as the fourth century, notice the resemblance of a Church to a ship. Lib. ii. c. 57.

^m Vid. Quintil. lib. xii. c. 5.

preserves the curved form. The whole plan of the ancient Basilica may be found in Vitruvius.^a After having mentioned the above particulars, he adds, "but if there shall be greater room in the length, *Chalcidica* may be added at the extremities." The meaning of this term *Chalcidica* is not certain; but the most probable interpretation seems to be, that they answered to our term *transepts*; and the custom of building them may have been brought from Chalcis.^o These transepts, however, seem not to have produced the form of the Latin cross, but to have been added at the extremity of the building; for Baptista Albertus says, "they joined these two [i.e. the Testudo and the Chalcidica] so as to form a resemblance to the letter T." The old Basilica of St. Peter was exactly of this form. The proportions, according to Vitruvius, were such, that the breadth equalled three-fifths of the length. It is not improbable, that in the Christian Basilicæ the transepts were moved lower down in the building, in order to assimilate them to the form of the cross. The Italians always call the transept *Crociata*, and those who write in Latin call it *Crux*.

From what has been stated, it is not difficult to see why the term *Basilica* was applied to Christian churches. For of the sacred edifices erected in Rome by Constantine, that of the

^a Lib. v. c. 1.

^o It has been conjectured, that we should read *Causidica*.

Lateran, the old St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, were precisely of this form. Any Roman of that day who saw them would naturally apply the term to them, for they were in all respects the same as the heathen Basilicæ. As these were the first churches upon a large scale, and legally acknowledged in Rome, the term Basilica would become identified with Christian temples; and though the other churches erected by Constantine, viz. S. Croce, S. Lorenzo, and S. Agnese, might not be of the same form, they would all come to be called Basilicæ.^p At present the term is confined to seven churches, as mentioned above. It is not so easy to give a reason for this; but their antiquity, and the celebrity of their foundation, (five of them being the work of Constantine,) may have given them this distinction.

Pancirolli assigns the following reason for the preference being given to these seven.^q Upon a certain occasion, the four Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, came to Rome; and four principal churches were assigned to them during their residence. These were, S. Paul's, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo, and S. Peter's. The Pope, who was superior to them all, reserved for himself S. John Lateran, which was then higher in rank than S. Peter's. This gave a peculiar sanctity to the five churches,

^p In the Greek of Eusebius, we find βασιλειον and βασιλειος ἵκος. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. c. 4.

^q Tesori Nascosti dell' alma Citta di Roma. Roma 1625.

and the faithful frequented them more than any other. S. Sebastian and S. Croce were subsequently added to the number, because in going from S. Paul's to the Lateran it was necessary to pass by S. Sebastian's;^r and in continuing the visitation from the Lateran to S. Lorenzo, S. Croce also came in the way. Such is the reason assigned by an antiquary and dignitary of the Romish church, which perhaps will not seem very satisfactory. The circumstance of their being seven in number may perhaps have arisen from what Damasus tells us in the Pontifical Book; that Evaristus, who was Pope A.D. 108-17, first divided Rome into seven parishes. But Platina informs us, that Pope Simplicius I. in the fifth century, divided Rome into five regions, or presbyteries, those of S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Laurence, S. John Lateran, and S. Maria Maggiore. It is certain that the number of Deacons at Rome was confined to seven for some centuries.^s

Of these Basilicæ, four are within the walls, S. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore, S. John Lateran, and S. Croce in Gierusalemme; three are without, S. Paul's, S. Lorenzo, and S. Sebastian's.

S. PETER'S.

In attempting to describe the Basilica of S. Peter, I feel at a loss for adequate terms of ad-

^r This is not strictly true.

^s Bingham, lib. ii. c. 20. § 19.

miration. We are so much in the habit of looking with astonishment, if not with awe, upon those stupendous monuments which have come down to us as the works of the ancients, that to some it would seem the height of absurdity to compare any modern building, in magnitude or magnificence, with those which existed in former ages. But our enthusiasm must not carry us beyond the bounds of truth; nor, when we allow the ancients to have far exceeded the moderns in the generality of their public works, must we forget or keep back those points in which the latter may be allowed to have excelled. If we could suppose any sudden calamity to overwhelm the city of Rome, as it now stands, and to reduce the buildings of modern construction to the same indistinct and misshapen mass of ruins which the ancient structures present, the traveller, who in some future age should explore the scene of desolation, would find, in the enormous pile which was once S. Peter's, a monument much more vast and more magnificent than any which Republican or Imperial Rome has left. This observation will perhaps require to be proved in detail. Of those temples which have left any traces behind them in Rome, there is none fit to be compared with S. Peter's in dimensions; nor is there any building of any kind, which can be considered on an equal scale with it, except the Colosseum. But the two structures are not really objects of comparison. The Colosseum encloses an immense space of ground, but being an uncovered building, and

without any architectural decorations in the interior, it can hardly be considered equal to S. Peter's either in design or in execution. Even uncovered as it is, (and consequently no great wonder of art, though a prodigious proof of the magnificence of him who planned it,) its whole length is very little, if at all, greater than that of S. Peter's: as they come so near to each other, that the former measures 845 Roman palms in length, the latter 830; so that the modern building approaches very near in size to the largest structure which ancient Rome has left us, and infinitely surpasses it in elegance of design and splendour of decoration.

The largest temple of ancient Rome seems to have been that of Jupiter on the Capitol: the dimensions of which may be collected from ancient authors to have been only 200 feet in length by 185 in width: which makes it quite contemptible when compared with S. Peter's; and scarcely on a par with the principal church in most of our large towns.

At Athens the Parthenon measured only 230 feet in length, and 98 in width. The temple of Theseus is 104 feet long; and these two seem to have been the largest buildings which Athenian devotion and Athenian greatness ever reared. The temple of Jupiter at Elis (which might be called the Metropolitan church of Greece) was 230 feet long, and 95 wide.[†] The temple of

[†] Pausan. lib. v.

Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum was larger than any of these, and, as Diodorus says,^u might have vied with any in the world: he calls the length of it 340 feet, and modern observation makes it 345. His text is manifestly corrupt, where the width is stated at only 60 feet; it is really 165. This however was not the largest, for the temple of Diana at Ephesus was 425 feet long, and 220 broad.^x Pocock makes it only 340 feet long, and 190 wide.^y

The platform upon which the temple at Jerusalem stood was a square of 620 feet: but the temple itself must have been much smaller. Prideaux says, only 110 feet long.

From what has been stated the remark will be confirmed, however repugnant it may be to our ideas of ancient superiority, that modern times have seen a building arise, which far eclipses in proportions, and probably in decorations, any which the most flourishing times of Greece and Rome could boast.

If we extended the comparison to Babylon or Egyptian Thebes, the balance would probably be decidedly against the modern edifice. Diodorus computes the circumference of a temple in

^u Lib. xiii.

^x Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 21.

^y I do not pretend to have reduced all these measures to one scale. Perhaps the Greek, the French, and the English foot will be found to have been used. But this will make little difference. The English foot is $\frac{17}{16000}$ of an inch smaller than the Greek, and $\frac{44}{16000}$ of an inch smaller than the French foot.

Thebes at a mile and a half: he states the height to have been 45 cubits, and the walls 24 feet thick. Pocock says, he found a temple which was 1,400 feet long, and 350 wide; the ruins of it extended for half a mile. But as Greece and Rome are the usual standards to which we appeal for objects of grandeur and magnificence, I was anxious to point out the fact, that their utmost efforts had been surpassed by a people who are called their degenerate descendants, in an age, which we look back upon as scarcely emerged from barbarism, and under a government as destitute as possible of a spirit of liberty or national exertion.

In the above statement of proportions I have taken no notice of the height: but in this S. Peter's stands even more pre-eminent. Its height is perhaps the utmost limit to which the enterprise of man has ever yet carried any structure: since there is reason to believe that no building of ancient or modern date (at least no building of brick or stone,) ever exceeded the height of 485 French feet, which is that of S. Peter's. The pyramid of Gyges reaches 448, that of Chephren 398. I take these relative heights from a German work upon the Cathedral of Cologne. It should be stated, that Greaves makes the height of the largest pyramid 499 feet.* Other accounts say 466, and scarcely any two travellers agree as to the height, circumference,

* Vide Pocock.

or (what seems still more extraordinary) the number of steps. We therefore need not be surprised, that Herodotus makes the circumference of the largest pyramid 800 feet, Diodorus 700, and Strabo less than 600. It may be mentioned also, that the spire of old S. Paul's (the height of which seems to have varied after different repairs) was at one period 520 feet high. But great part of this was of wood. The height of the dome of the present church to the top of the cross is only 370 feet. The cathedral at Vienna is 465 feet high: that at Strasburgh 456.

After one more remark on another point, in which S. Peter's exceeds any other building, I will proceed to its history. The cupola of this church is the largest in the world: nor need we here, as before, appeal to any edifice of the ancient Greeks or Romans, to institute a comparison: for it seems to be allowed, that the cupola, such as is that of S. Peter's, is an invention of more modern date. It was the boast of Michel Angelo, when he formed his idea of the cupola of S. Peter's, that he would raise the dome of the Pantheon aloft into the air. Nor is this a bad description of the modern dome, compared with the ancient. That of the Pantheon may be described as merely an elongation of the walls, which instead of terminating abruptly, and supporting an angular or horizontal roof, are continued in a curve, and form a concave covering to the building. Such are all the domes which the ancients seem to have thought

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of constructing: but the cupola of S. Peters, supported as it is, not upon the walls of the building, but upon four independent columns, is a much greater effort of skill; and the architect, who first conceived the idea, deserves assuredly a greater share of praise, than all those who have merely copied the models of the ancients.

Pausanias mentions six temples with domes to them in Greece; viz. at Athens, Epidaurus, Sparta, Elis, Mantinea, and Orchomenus. Circular temples were by no means uncommon; and if the term *Tholus*, which is used by Pausanias in describing that at Epidaurus, always meant a round temple, we have accounts of the situation of several. But a circular temple with a dome is evidently not the same thing as a church surmounted by a cupola, like that of S. Peter's. Round temples were perhaps more common with the Romans than the Grecians: some of them were angular on the outside, and circular within, as is the case with the temple of Diana at Baïæ. There are also two other round temples at Baïæ, one of which receives its light from above, like the Pantheon. At Rome we have another specimen, in what is called the temple of Minerva Medica, which is decagonal, and great part of the dome remains.*

* Sextus Rufus and P. Victor mention the Pantheon of Minerva Medica in this quarter of the city. It has been called also the temple of Hercules Callaicus, and the Basilica

What comes nearest to the modern plan of supporting a cupola is the church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cælian hill, already alluded to at p. 85: but this very building furnishes a decisive proof, that the ancients were ignorant of the mechanism employed by Brunelleschi and M. Angelo. In this temple, supposed to be of the age of Claudius, or not much later, there is a circular row of thirty-four pillars, with arches springing from one to the other, and supporting the outer wall of the building. This was certainly one step towards the modern cupola: for if we suppose the number of these pillars to be diminished, and the height of the arches increased, the principle of construction would be nearly attained. But Desgodetz, who surveyed the building accurately, says, that he cannot make out what kind of roof there was originally, since the walls are too weak to support such a dome as would have been required. And in the area between these pillars, we have actually two columns higher than the rest, supporting a cross-wall, which must have been intended to support the roof; just as if a wall extended from the pillar of S. Veronica to that of S. Longinus in S. Peter's, to support the vaulted cupola.

The Church of S. Sophia, at Constantinople, (built under Justinian in the sixth century,) seems

of Caius and Lucius. It generally goes by the name of Galuccio, which is thought to be a corruption of Caius and Lucius. It suffered from an earthquake in 1812.

to have been the first where a cupola was constructed on the principle of that at S. Peter's. The architects were Anthemius and Isidorus, whose names deserve to be recorded. The diameter of it is 113 French feet; but the height from the ground is only 180 feet.^b The art seems to have been preserved during the ages which we call barbarous; and St. Mark's at Venice, which was built about 973, and the cathedral at Pisa, a work of the eleventh century, contain similar domes. M. Angelo made his attempt upon a dome, which was the largest of any left to us by the ancients; but Bramante must certainly claim the merit of having first designed the cupola of S. Peter's; and Brunelleschi had already executed one at the cathedral at Florence, which is only less than the other by thirteen feet in height, and fifteen in breadth.^c M. Angelo is said to have entertained such an admiration for this work of Brunelleschi at Florence, that he expressed a wish to have his tomb in S. Croce placed in such a situation, that the cupola of the cathedral might be visible from it. The oldest church in Rome

^b Plans and views of this church may be seen in the *Travels of Grelot*, Paris, 1680. Ducangé describes it accurately in his *Constantinopolis Christiana*. And Evagrius, who was born in the same year in which the church was built (537), has left an account of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. iv. c. 31.

^c Brunelleschi died in 1546, leaving the cupola unfinished. It is said, in the *Life of B. Cellini*, that Bacchio d'Agnolo completed, and spoiled it.

with a cupola to it is said to be that of S. Agostino, built in 1483.

That St. Peter (after his crucifixion on the site of S. Pietro in Montorio) was interred on the spot where now stands the Basilica, which bears his name, has been a constant tradition of the Roman Church. An oratory is said to have been erected over his remains by S. Anacletus, who was pope from 83 to 96, and had received ordination from St. Peter. The cathedral which preceded the present structure, was erected by Constantine, in 324, at the request of S. Sylvester, who was then pope. Baronius mentions, that in pulling down part of the old church some bricks were found with this inscription *CONSTANTINVS. AVG. D. N.*; and on the tribune of the old church was this distich:

*Quod duce te Mundus surrexit in astra triumphans,
Hanc Constantinus Victor tibi condidit aulam.*

Coins also have been found, with the figure of our Saviour on one side, and of Constantine and Helena on the other. In the order of time this was not the first of Constantine's churches; as he had before this built the Basilica at the Lateran palace. According to ancient accounts, the emperor himself took up a spade to dig for the foundations, and carried on his shoulders twelve baskets full of soil, in honour of the twelve Apostles.

A tolerable idea may be formed of the elevation and the plan of this structure, from some paint-

ings, which still exist in the Grotte Vaticane, immediately under the high altar of the present building. They were executed by order of Paul V. The front is represented in the fresco painting of Raffael in the Vatican, which is known by the name of the Fire of Borgo S. Pietro. Some portion of the interior is also given in the painting, of the same series, which represents the coronation of Charlemagne. Gregory of Tours described it in the fifth century.^d There was a kind of square building in front, which some writers call Quadriporticus, which was also built by Constantine, and about the year 678 was flagged with large stones by Pope Domnus, having been paved in Mosaic by Constantine. It was called Quadriporticus because there was a colonnade round each side of the square. The dimensions of the sides were 280 palms by 256. The ascent to it on the east side was by thirty-five steps. This inclosure was sometimes called Paradisus, which seems to have been a general name for a square court or cloister in front of a church; from whence is derived the word *Parvis*. The entrance to the portico was from the east, and by three doors; that into the church, at the other side of it, by five.

The architecture seems to have been by no means handsome, but in a rude and degenerate Grecian style, which may be seen in some churches of the same date still existing here. Part of the original pavement may yet be seen, which is com-

^d De Glor. Mart. c. 28, p. 58.

posed of very irregular fragments. This portion of the ancient cathedral is said to have been built over the burial ground of the Christians who suffered in the early persecutions, and was accordingly preserved in building the new fabric, which was raised twelve feet above it. Copious plans and descriptions of the old church may be seen in two works published at Rome by Ciampini^d and Bonanni.^e The whole length, to the end of the tribune, was 528 palms; the whole width 285; the length of the transepts was 390, the width of them 70. The greatest height was 170. The middle aisle was 106 palms wide. The five aisles were divided by one hundred pillars, in four parallel rows; those in the nave were 40 palms high, the others were lower. The capitals were Corinthian, and the marble was of different kinds. It was all built of brick; and the interior was entirely covered with mosaics and paintings. The roof was of wood, the beams and rafters of which were exposed to view. Great part of the materials came from the adjoining Circus, which Constantine destroyed.

It may be remarked, that the old church did not stand east and west, as all the old churches in our own country do; and the entrance rather faced the east. Other examples will be found of this in Rome. The custom of making the fronts of temples face the west, existed very generally

^d Upon the buildings of Constantiné.

^e Numismata Summorum Pontificum Templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia, Romæ 1696.

with the Pagans. Vitruvius mentions it as desirable, if the situation would permit, so that a person walking up to the altar may look to the east:^f and Clement of Alexandria gives the same reason.^g The contrary custom was also very ancient; and Porphyry^h goes so far as to say, that it was so with nearly all the ancient temples; and we know that it was so with that at Jerusalem.ⁱ The Christians seem, at first, to have made their churches face the west; and some of the Fathers notice an apostolical tradition which enjoined such a custom. The eastern churches follow the opposite plan, making them face the east.^k There was a good reason for making St. Peter's face the east, because the approach from the city naturally required the entrance to be on that side; otherwise a person would have had to go round the church before he could get into it. S. Leo, in one of his sermons,^l mentions, with regret, that people were accustomed, as soon as they had ascended the steps of St. Peter's, to turn round and bow toward the rising sun; which,

^f Lib. iv. c. 5.

^g Strom. lib. vii. § 7. Origen, de Orat. c. 32. Hom. 5 in Levit. § 1.

^h De antro Nymph.

ⁱ Ezek. c. xlvii. v. 1.

^k Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. c. 4; in which may be seen an interesting description of a church at Tyre, in the reign of Constantine. The Apostolical Constitutions expressly order the church to face the east. Lib. ii. c. 57. See Pseudo-Athanas. vol. ii. p. 276.

^l De Nativ. vii. c. 4. Vide Tertull. Apol. c. 16.

he says, gave him great pain, as proceeding partly from ignorance, and partly from a spirit of paganism.

Gregory the First, or the Great, repaired the roof in 602; and some accounts make him to have procured timber for that purpose *de partibus Britannorum*. But Baronius clearly proves, that Britain is erroneously said to have contributed towards the repair of the sacred edifice, and that we ought to read *Brutinorum*, as the timber came from Calabria.^m Anastasius, in his Life of Honorius I. tells us, that this pope, about 630, removed to the roof of S. Peter's some brazen tiles, which were upon the Temple of Venus and Romulus. Platina says, that they came from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; but the former account is more probable. In 1341, Benedict XII. put on an entirely new roof; on which occasion a beam of extraordinary size is said to have been taken down, which was put up by Constantine. Birds had built their nests in it; and even foxes were found to have taken up their abode in it!

Pope Nicolas V. has the merit of having begun the new structure in 1450, but he only finished part of the tribune, which at his death was not

^m It is singular that the same mistake has crept into the copies of Athenæus, lib. v.; who tells us, that the main-mast of the ship which Archimedes made for Hiero, was found in the mountains τῆς Βερρυλίας. Camden is undoubtedly right in suggesting Βερρυλίας. He proposes a similar correction in Polybius, lib. xi.

raised more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. His architects were Bernardino Rosellini and Leon Battista Alberti, both of Florence. Under the two following popes the work does not appear to have been continued. His immediate successor was Calixtus III. who is said to have repaired the windows, and to have strengthened the left-hand wall, which was in a falling state. But these expressions must relate to the old church, and it does not appear that he furthered the design of building a new one. Paul II. who reigned from 1464 to 1471, went on with it, and spent 5000 crowns upon the building. But Julius II. contributed more than any of his predecessors to the furtherance of this immortal work. It is asserted by Vasari,ⁿ that he was animated to the undertaking by the magnificent design for his own tomb, which Michel Angelo had just completed.

The celebrated Bramante Lazari was his architect, to whom the original idea of the cupola is to be ascribed. He commenced his labours in 1503, and half the old church was at once pulled down to enable him to execute his plans. It is said, that M. Angelo (who was then twenty-nine years old, and employed upon the tomb, as mentioned above,) regretted the precipitancy with which this demolition was carried on.^o Julius laid the first

ⁿ Vol. ii. p. 83. and vol. iii. p. 211.

^o There is some difficulty as to the year when M. Angelo first came to Rome. Condivi says, (p. 16.) that it was in 1503, the first year of Julius' Pontificate. Roscoe, in his admirable life of Leo X. vol. iv. p. 298, decides this to be

stone himself on the 18th of April, 1506, and marked it with appropriate inscriptions. It was deposited under one of the four pillars which support the cupola, where is now the statue of S. Veronica. In the following year two of the other pillars were begun upon; and Bramante lived to see all the four raised as high as the cornice, and the arches completed, which spring from one to the other. Each of the pillars was 59 feet in diameter. It would seem, however, that there was some defect in Bramante's work; for Serlio says of it, "It may be perceived, that Bramante in forming a design was bolder than he was circumstances; because so vast and massy a work should have an excellent foundation, on which it might stand secure, and not be built upon four bows or arches of such an height. In confirmation of my remark, the four pillars and also the arches, without any other weight upon them, have already settled and sunk, and in some places even cracked." Serlio wrote his book about 1544, and it will be seen, that M. Angelo found it necessary to strengthen these pillars. M. Angelo has also the credit of having supplied Bramante with an improved plan for the wooden machinery to support the arches, before they were finished.

wrong, but says, that it certainly was not later than 1505. Yet if Bonanni (whom I have followed) is right in saying that Bramante commenced in 1503, and if the two anecdotes mentioned of M. Angelo in the text are also true, he must have been in Rome in 1503.

Bramante did not live to see the cupola completed according to his original design; but dying in 1514, was buried with honourable solemnities in part of the new building. Two coins were struck, one of Julius II. the other of Leo X. on the reverses of which the front of the Basilica is represented according to the plan of Bramante. There was to have been a projecting portico of six columns, with a dome at the top of it. At each extremity of the front there was a high narrow tower of four stories. He intended to have adopted the form of the Latin cross: and in Serlio's Book upon Architecture,^p may be seen the ground plan of it, as designed by Raffael after Bramante's death. The interior would have consisted of a nave and two aisles, with two semicircular projections in lieu of transepts.

Leo X. who succeeded Julius in 1513, inherited his zeal for promoting the fine arts, and under him the building of St. Peter's was continued with increased energy. It is well known, that both Julius and Leo carried to a much greater length than any of their predecessors the sale of indulgences. The justification of such a measure was principally taken from the desire entertained by the Roman pontiff for rebuilding the church of St. Peter: and as the Reformation is certainly to be ascribed in a great degree to the offence raised by this scandalous traffic, we may say without aiming at a paradox, that the efforts of the

^p Lib. iii. c. 4.

Roman Catholics to beautify their Metropolitan church contributed in some degree to produce the Reformation.¹

Leo's first architects were Giuliano da Sangallo and Giovanni da Verona: to whom was added the celebrated painter, Raffael. That this great man excelled in architecture, as well as in his favourite study, is perhaps not generally known. But at the revival of the art of painting, and for some time after, there were few professors of it, who did not also employ themselves in giving architectural designs. Raffael acquired not a little fame in this department of art: and the Chapel of the Chigi family in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, which was built upon his designs, is considered a fine specimen of his talents. Leo X. among his other magnificent projects had thoughts of rebuilding Rome upon a scale suitable to its former grandeur, and Raffael was employed by him to collect designs.² A Letter or rather Report, addressed by Raffael to the Pope upon this subject, is still extant.³

It was in the year 1515 that he was employed

¹ Since writing this sentence, I find the same sentiment in the History of the Council of Trent, written by Pallavicini, c. i. p. 49.

² See a Letter from C. Calcagnini to J. Ziegler, in the Collection by Colomiez at the end of his edition of Clement, London, 1687. From an expression in this Letter, Raffael seems to have had the chief direction of the building of St. Peter's.

³ It is published in the Appendix to Roscoe's Life of Leo X. No. ccxi.

by Leo in the building of St. Peter's, having been immortalizing himself by his paintings in the Vatican since 1508. He was now thirty-two years of age. An original letter of his upon the occasion of his receiving the appointment being still preserved, I may perhaps be excused in translating part of it.[†] "His Holiness in conferring an honour upon me has placed a great load upon my shoulders: this is the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's. I hope, that I shall not sink under it: and the more so, as the plan, which I have made for it, pleases his Holiness, and is commended by many men of genius. But I raise my thoughts even higher. I could wish to reach the beautiful forms of the ancient buildings; nor can I tell whether my flight will be like that of Icarus. Vitruvius affords me great lights, but not enough." Two letters, addressed to him by Cardinal Bembo in the name of Leo, are also extant,[‡] from which it appears, that Bramante on his death-bed pointed him out as a fit successor; that he was to receive 300 gold crowns (*aurei*) a year; and any marble dug up within ten miles of Rome was to be put at his disposal.

From this and the other works, which were

[†] I take this from a Collection of original Letters from Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, published by Bottari, in seven volumes: a very interesting work, and generally quoted under the name of *Lettere Pittoriche*, vide vol. i. p. 84.

[‡] These are published by Roscoe, Appendix, No. ccrx. and ccx. from Bembo Epist. Pontif. lib. ix. epp. 13. et 51.

more immediately suited to his genius, Raffael was cut off by a premature death in 1520, at the age of 37. San-Gallo had died three years before him, in 1517. Neither he nor his colleagues did much more than strengthen the four pillars, which had been raised by Bramante; but the plan which Raffael conceived may be seen in the work of Serlio.*

After this, Leo committed the work to Baltassar Peruzzi, who, despairing of money or time to complete Bramante's design, intended to adopt the Greek cross. Peruzzi's plan is also engraved by Serlio, and by Bonanni. It would have been a perfect square: at each angle there was to be a square tower; and between each of these angles was a semicircular projection. The diameter of the cupola in its widest part was to be 188 palms. Leo died in 1521, and for twelve years after his death little or nothing was added to the work. His successor Adrian VI. did not live two years after his elevation; and Clement VII. saw the city entered and pillaged by the German-Spanish army, which supported the cause of Charles V. Peruzzi however finished the tribune during his reign.

Paul III. (a Farnese, who reigned from 1534 to 1549) employed Antonio San-Gallo,[†] nephew to Giuliano, who again changed the plan to a Latin

* Lib. iii. c. 4.

† Antonio San-Gallo built a house for himself, which is now the Palazzo Sacchetti in the Strada Giulia.

cross. His design may still be seen in the church: but its rejection seems to have been merited. The pillars were much too large, and the aisles too small to produce a pleasing effect. The front was crowded to excess with columns and windows. **The two towers**, which were to rise from the extremities of it, were **still more overloaded**; and he seems to have been fond of little pinnacles or pyramids, which concealed the building behind, and could not in themselves produce any effect of grandeur. Bramante's design for the cupola was much more simple; it was to have been surrounded with one row of Corinthian pillars at the lowest part of it, but the rest of the curvature was to be plain. Antonio had two tiers of pillars and arches, one above the other, the lower Ionic, the upper Corinthian: at the top of the cupola were two more successive rows, and over all was a pyramid or cone ending in a ball; so that the simple majesty of the dome was entirely lost. The length of the church was to have been 1040 palms; the whole height 636. Fortunately for the success of the edifice, San-Gallo did not live long enough to execute his plans. He strengthened the supports of the cupola still farther, and died in 1546. He was buried in the Basilica.

Upon his death the work was to have been entrusted to Giulio Romano, the celebrated pupil of Raffael; but he died in the same year, and it was committed to the immortal M. Angelo. He was now about 72 years of age. The brief, by which the pope entrusted M. Angelo with the

building, is still in existence. The pope had been charmed with a model, which that great architect had executed for the Basilica, and in this letter he gives him the fullest powers to alter and pull down what his predecessors had done, to command and control all the other persons employed, in short, to be entirely absolute in following his own designs. In 1549 Paul III. died. His successor was Julius III., who was soon assailed with complaints from all sides, of the overbearing temper of M. Angele, and of his opposition to the plans and labours of the most experienced artists. It should be mentioned, that this great man was working all the time without pay, having refused the repeated offers of Paul III., who would have given him 100 gold crowns a month. Julius however was sensible of the merits of the architect, and of the envious malignity of his calumniators. In January, 1552, he sent him a new diploma, confirming him in the entire and uncontrolled management of the fabric. Notwithstanding this countenance given him by the sovereign pontiff, his enemies seem to have continued their clamours and impediments; and he would willingly have retired to end his days at Florence, where his presence was most eagerly desired, if he had not postponed every consideration of private peace and tranquillity to the importance of the work on which he was engaged.

Several of his letters to his friends are extant, in which he expresses these sentiments. An extract may be given from one of them, which

seems to have been written about the year 1556. It is to G. Vasari, and begins with these words: "My dear friend George, I call God to witness that I was engaged against my will and with very great reluctance by Pope Paul III. in the building of St. Peter's ten years ago: and if the construction of that building had been followed up to the present day in the manner it was then carried on, I should now be arrived at such a point in the building, that I should turn to it with delight; but from want of money it has proceeded and still proceeds very slowly, just as it is come to the most laborious and difficult parts; so that by abandoning it now, the only consequence would be, that with excessive shame and impropriety I should lose the reward of the fatigues, which I have endured these ten years for the love of God." He concludes, "To make you understand the consequence of abandoning the said building, in the first place, I should satisfy several scoundrels, and I should be the occasion of its falling to ruin, and perhaps of its being shut up for ever."² Vasari also in a letter to M. Angelo alludes to the cruelties exercised upon the works of that great man, and advises him to fly from the ungrateful Babylon, which could not appreciate his merit.^a

The sublimity of his genius is to be seen more than the success of his execution in the designs which he followed. These principally consisted

^a Lettere Pittoriche, vol. i. p. 5. ^a Ibid. vol. iii. p. 50.

in alterations. He returned to Peruzzi's plan of a Greek cross, widened the tribune and transepts, and gave a much freer area than his predecessors had projected. The cupola also was erected by him on a design different from that which had been intended by the former architects. It is not my intention to describe in detail his execution of this wonderful work. Bonanni's book may be consulted by those who interest themselves in such histories. The principal difference consisted in his constructing two domes, an inner and an outer one. The latter gave a greater majesty to the fabric when viewed from the exterior; and in the body of the church the eye is more gratified with having the cupola apparently nearer to it. The Church of our Lady of Loretto in the Piazza Traiana has a double cupola of this kind, the design for which was given by Bramante; and this most probably suggested the idea to M. Angelo. With respect to the elevation of the front, his plan was far more simple than that of Antonio San-Gallo; but still it bears that striking characteristic of the Italian architects, a multiplicity of ornaments alternately advancing and receding. About two-thirds of it project out from the rest; and from this there was still another projection in a portico, which was supported by four columns. The architecture was Corinthian. In consequence of the Greek cross being adopted, nearly the whole of the dome would have been visible whenever the front was examined. M. Angelo died in 1563, at the advanced

age of 89, having been employed nearly eighteen years in the building. He completed what the Italians call the *Tamburo* of the dome, i. e. the cylindrical part, which rises from the four pillars to the spring of the arch of the dome.

Many persons still lament that his ideas were ever departed from, and the Latin cross substituted for the Greek. It is difficult to deny, that a greater idea of space and grandeur is raised by the latter than by the former. When all the four members of the cross are equal, a person standing in the centre is likely to be more impressed with the proportions of the building, than when one limb being so much longer than the rest, the others appear less than they really are. The churches of S. Maria degli Angioli and S. Agnese in Rome, and La Trinità Maggiore at Naples, may be mentioned as fine specimens of the Greek cross, but especially the first.^b

The four pillars supporting this enormous cupola are stupendous masses of architecture; but from the admirable proportion observed in all the parts of this building, they are not so much observed as they otherwise would be. No better notion can be conveyed of their prodigious dimensions than by stating, that there is a church in the Via delle 4 Fontane, called S. Carlo, which is

^b Burke, in his *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, (part ii. § 9.) objects to the Greek cross, and indeed to any kind of cross, because it breaks the extension of the building. But he is speaking of the effect only from the outside.

exactly the same size as one of these pillars; nor does it appear particularly small in the inside. It was built in 1640 by Borromini.^c By a rough measurement of one of these pillars, they are near 240 feet in circumference. M. Angelo insisted earnestly that nothing should be added or altered in his design. Bernini afterwards undertook to make a staircase within each of the columns. Just as they had hollowed and prepared the inside of one of them, (that in front of which the statue of S. Veronica now stands,) the whole building gave a crash, and the Italian tradition says, it was as loud as thunder. They put up the stairs in that, but would not attempt any more of them. Some accounts say, however, that there existed originally a well for a staircase, and that Bernini only put the steps in it.^d

The work went on during the Pontificate of S. Pius V. (1566-72) under Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola and Pirro Ligorio, who were charged by the Pope to follow in every thing the designs of Michel Angelo. Giacomo della Porta continued it under Gregory XIII. (1572-85,) and under

^c This is the account of the Roman guides. Ramsay (in Spence's Anecdotes, §. i. p. 41.) says, "each of the four columns takes up as much ground as a little chapel and convent, (S. Silvestro by the 4 Fontane,) in which one of the architects employed in that work lived." This must be a mistake. There is no church of S. Silvestro by the 4 Fontane, and the church of S. Carlo was evidently built subsequently to the dome of S. Peter's.

^d This anecdote is from Spence.

Sextus V. completed the cupola. Domenico Fontana was united with him in the work, and the zeal of Sextus being as great, if not greater than that of any of his predecessors, 600 workmen were employed night and day, and the money expended was at the rate of 100,000 gold crowns per annum. This incessant labour completed the cupola in the short space of twenty-two months, it being finished by May, 1590, all except the outer covering of lead. It was calculated, that 500 lbs. weight of rope was used in the finishing of this dome, and 30,000 lbs. weight of iron. - Above 1,100 beams were employed in one story only of the dome, 100 of which were so large that two men could not embrace them. The architects traced their design on the floor of St. Paul's, part of which may still be seen.

Paul V. (Borghese) ascended the papal throne in 1605, and pursued the work with as much eagerness as any of his predecessors. The most astonishing part of the fabric, the cupola, was now finished; but great part of the original church was still standing at the east end, or near the entrance; so that there were in a manner two separate churches: one showing the taste of the fourth century, and the piety and magnificence of Constantine; the other exhibiting, by way of contrast, what was the state of the arts, and what were the resources of the Catholic Church, 1,300 years afterwards. Paul V. was animated with a desire of seeing the new fabric completed in his reign; and being assured from various quarters

that the old walls were in a most ruinous condition, he lost no time in ordering their demolition. Carlo Maderno was the principal architect employed: preparations were made for erecting the front or grand entrance, and the Pope laid the first stone in person the 18th of February, 1608. Maderno returned to the original plan of the Latin cross, and finished the whole in 1612. The portico was completed in 1614.

The colonnade was added by Alexander VII. (1655-67,) with the architecture of Bernini. Pius VI. (1775-800) built the sacristy, and gilded the ceiling of the interior. So that to bring St. Peter's to its present form required three centuries and a half; and up to 1694 it was calculated, that forty-seven millions of scudi (upwards of ten millions and a half sterling) had been expended upon it.

I have said, that the front erected by Carlo Maderno is the least successful part of the whole fabric. This is a remark which is made by many, indeed by most foreigners. All come to Rome with their expectations raised to the highest pitch from the accounts which they have read of St. Peter's, and many are disappointed with the first view. If the utmost stretch of imagination was not far exceeded in the splendour of the interior, I should perhaps dwell more upon this disappointment in the first view of the exterior; but it is surely not merely national prejudice which prefers the front of St. Paul's in London to that of St. Peter's. I speak merely of architectural

design; for in dimensions it is well known that our English cathedral is far inferior; though this perhaps is not much thought of in viewing either building, because the other cannot be compared with it at the time. The black and dingy aspect of St. Paul's affords a melancholy contrast to the whiteness of St. Peter's; but in noticing some of the defects of the latter, it may perhaps be allowed, that a decisive balance may be drawn in favour of St. Paul's. It must again be repeated, that I am now only speaking of the fronts of the two buildings. As to the approach to each of them, and the points of view from which they are first seen, both labour under great disadvantages: but the association of ideas is perhaps in favour of our own cathedral. Both of them want an open space, in which their beauty and magnificence may have room to display themselves; and the approach to both of them is by narrow streets; but in London it is merely the closeness and narrowness of the way which is disadvantageous: the approach to St. Paul's is certainly close and crowded, but still in arriving at it we have been led through a line of industry and opulence, through a succession of objects which attest our present greatness, to this monument of the wealth and zeal of our predecessors. Whereas the approach to St. Peter's is not only narrow, but mean: * the metropolitan church of Christendom not only stands in a remote and

* On the right hand side of the street is a palace, built by Henry VIII. as a residence for his ambassadors, and given by him to Cardinal Campeggio.

dirty part of the city, but in one which peculiarly shows the poverty and wretchedness of the inhabitants.

The objections which I make to the front itself are these. In the first place there is no projecting portico to break the long line of building which this front presents; and the multiplicity of pilasters, windows, and recesses, which Italian taste has so liberally bestowed, produces an effect by no means imposing. In the centre is the balcony, from which the pope delivers his benediction at Easter; and many will perhaps agree, that the faults here mentioned are principally owing to the necessity of introducing such a recess.^f In fact, the front is not at all in the style

^f Some persons may be gratified by seeing the form of this Benediction. "S. S. Apostoli Petrus et Paulus, de quorum potestate et auctoritate confidimus, ipsi intercedant pro nobis ad Dominum. Amen.

"Precibus et meritis Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, Beati Michaelis Archangeli, Beati Joannis Baptistæ et S. S. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et omnium Sanctorum, misereatur vestri Omnipotens Deus, et dimissis omnibus peccatis vestris perducatur vos Jesus Christus ad vitam æternam. Amen.

"Indulgentiam, Absolutionem et Remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium veræ et fructuosæ pœnitentiæ, cor semper pœnitens, et emendationem vitæ, gratiam et consolationem Sancti Spiritus, et finalem perseverantiam in bonis operibus tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.

"Et Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen."

Not a syllable of this can be heard by the thousands below: but as soon as it is delivered, a cardinal deacon reads two

usually assigned to a religious building, but gives more the idea of a palace. As there is no projecting portico, the pediment, which is over the four centre pillars, is rather unmeaning; and being out-topped by the attic story, it is only a triangle let into the wall, without forming a finish to the whole, as a pediment is usually expected to do. The general effect would perhaps be much improved, if the whole of this attic were away, by which means much more of the dome would be seen. At present, that, which is the most wonderful and majestic part of the whole fabric, makes very little show from this point of view. Had the Greek cross been adopted, more of it would probably have been seen: and from these two causes, viz. the length of the nave, and the height of the front, the dome, which ought to astonish the spectator at the first view, presents but a small portion to the eye; and hence no doubt arises great part of the disappointment which is so generally complained of. The thirteen statues on the top are those of our Saviour and his Apostles with the exception of S. Peter. His place is supplied by John the Baptist, and the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul are to be seen below. It should be mentioned, that the eight half-pillars in this façade are nearly nine feet (English) in diameter, which is greater than

plenary indulgences, one in Latin, the other in Italian, and the papers containing them are thrown down and caught with the greatest eagerness by the people.

that of the pillars in any modern building. Fragments belonging to the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Girgenti, show the half-pillars there to have been eleven feet in diameter.

After having passed the long narrow street mentioned above, the spectator finds himself in the Piazza de' Rusticucci, an irregular open space, 246 feet long by 204 wide, which leads him into another open space immediately in front of St. Peter's, and almost inclosed by a colonnade, which stretches out in a curved line from each extremity of the building. Objections may be brought to the taste and to the design of this colonnade; but we must be scrupulous indeed to deny it the effect of grandeur. A semicircular or rather a semielliptical colonnade on each side, inclosing a space of 728 feet by 606, with four rows of pillars, through the centre of which two carriages may pass, and of which pillars there are in all 256, beside 48 pilasters, surmounted on the top with 192 statues of saints, each eleven feet high, must at least produce the effect of much magnificence. Nearly at the entrance of the colonnade stood the house of Raffael, designed by Bramante; but this and several other buildings were removed in 1660, to improve the approach to St. Peter's.

If the whole stood in an open unconfined space, with an approach through a wide handsome street, the colonnade would perhaps be more approved of than it is at present. It was built by Bernini, as stated above, during the pon-

tificate of Alexander VII. He chose a mixture of orders, which some critics may object to, but it is as little offensive as any union of different styles can be. The bases of the pillars are Tuscan, the capitals are Doric, and the shafts and cornices Ionic. The curved colonnades do not commence immediately from the cathedral, but are a continuation of two straight lines of columns of equal breadth, which go off from each extremity of the front, but not at right angles, for a distance of 296 feet. The area within this colonnade is the place from which the front of St. Peter's must be examined; not that the effect of it from this spot is altogether happy, as has been complained of above, but because from the narrowness of the streets leading to it, no view can be obtained of it before. The motley and incongruous buildings of the Vatican form also another great eye-sore. In the centre of the area is an Egyptian obelisk of granite, for an account of which the reader is referred to vol. i. p. 264, where it was stated that it does not stand exactly in the centre. On either side of it is a fountain of peculiar elegance and simplicity. The whole width of the front is 396 feet, the height 159.

There are five open entrances, which lead into a covered portico, extending along the whole front, and continued beyond it at either end; so that the whole length of the portico is 468 feet by 40 wide. The pillars of this portico belonged to the old church. The true magnificence of St. Peter's begins here. At either end is an equestrian

statue; that on the right is of Constantine, that on the left of Charlemagne: the first the founder of the old cathedral, the latter one of the greatest benefactors of the holy see. There are five doors leading into the church: the principal one in the centre is not generally used, except on great ceremonies. The bronze doors belonged to the old cathedral, and were executed in 1445, in the pontificate of Eugenius IV. who employed Antonio Filarete, and Simone, brother of Donato. The bas-reliefs represent the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul. Some circumstances attending the Council of Florence, which was held by this pope, are also introduced. Near the martyrdom of St. Peter are represented some old buildings, which existed in the time of Eugenius. Some profane subjects are also added. Honorius I. in 630, had placed silver doors here, but the silver was carried off by the Saracens in 846. Leo IV. replaced it. Three curious inscriptions may be seen near this door-way: 1. the bull of Boniface VIII. in 1300, granting an indulgence for every year of jubilee: 2. elegiac verses, composed by Charlemagne in 796, upon Pope Adrian I.: and 3. the donation made by St. Gregory II. of many estates to the Basilica. We may mention here that there was a stone near the silver gate of the old church, under which the venerable Bede was said to be buried.* Bede died in 735,

* Mallius in Vatic. p. 117. Honorius August. de Lumin. Eccles.

but the tradition of his being buried here is certainly false.^h The stone was afterwards used for the pope to stand upon when he received the horse, which was sent by the king of Naples.

Opposite to this entrance is a representation in Mosaic of the *Navicella*, as it is called, painted by Giotto in 1300; the original drawing for which may be seen over the entrance door of the church of the Capucins in the Piazza Barberini. It was executed by the order of Cardinal Giacomo Gaetano Stefaneschi, who paid 2,200 gold florins for it. It represents St. Peter walking upon the sea, and Christ supporting him. This is one of the ornaments which came from the old church, having stood over the east entrance to the Quadriporticus. When this building was destroyed, the Mosaic was removed, and it changed its place two or three times, till Cardinal Barberini had it fixed in its present situation. Giotto was also employed by Benedict XII. in repairing the Mosaics, which were upon the arch of the tribune of the old Basilica.

Another of these five doors is called the Porta Santa; it is blocked up with brickwork, and only

^h He was invited by Pope Sergius I. to go to Rome, but there is no evidence that he went. He says of himself, that he had passed all the time of his life from his seventh year in the monastery at Weremouth; and when he wrote this he was more than fifty-nine years old. There can be no doubt, that he was buried in his own convent, and that his bones were afterwards removed to Durham.

opened by the pope himself in the year of jubilee. It was Boniface VIII. who first established a year of jubilee in 1300, in imitation of an imaginary precedent 100 years before; and it was intended to have it celebrated every 100 years.¹ But after the expiration of the first half century, Clement VI. celebrated it again in 1350; upon which occasion Matteo Villani gives a curious account of the throng assembled in Rome. In 1380 Urban VI. again celebrated it, and ordered it to be observed every 30 years; in 1475 Sixtus IV. changed it to every 25 years, which custom has been observed ever since.² Upon this occasion the Porta Santa is opened by the Pope himself. On the eve of Christmas-day he commences the operation of pulling down the brickwork, by giving three blows with a silver hammer. I cannot find when this custom was first introduced; but it is not improbable, that a passage in Ezekiel gave rise to it.³ Over the door is a block of red and white marble, which is rather rare, and from its situation here, this sort is known at Rome by the name of Porta Santa. ~~It is perhaps what was called by the ancients~~ *Lapis Chius*, from the island in the Archi-

¹ The fullest account of the institution of the jubilee may be found in a work entitled *Lettres Historiques & Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés & les Indulgences*, par M. Chais.

² In the jubilee of 1750, there were 1300 pilgrims at the opening of the Porta Santa, and 8400 came in the following week. In 1824, there were only 476 in all.

³ C. xlv. v. 2.

pelago, where it was found. Two pillars on the Arch of Drusus resemble it, as does the sill of the door of the Pantheon, and some of the ancient pavement of Trajan's Forum. Three other Basilicæ have a Porta Santa, where the same custom of opening it is observed; the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, and St. Paul's. The dates of the two last jubilees are always preserved over the door; when a new one is put up, the oldest of the two others is removed.

It is impossible to undertake a task of greater difficulty, than to describe the interior of St. Peter's: whatever disappointment may have been felt upon the first view of the outside, every thing within is transcendent and astonishing. It is highly ornamented, without being gaudy; it is vast, but yet the different parts can easily be separated: every thing is grand, costly, and magnificent. Nor can we ever sufficiently wonder, that a building, which required three centuries to finish it, and which must consequently have fallen into the hands of so many Pontiffs of different views, and so many architects of different tastes, should bear no marks of the precipitate vanity of the one, anxious to complete the edifice in their own reign, nor of the dissimilar and discordant designs of the other. Though the greatest building of modern times, and greater than any temple which ancient Greece or Rome could boast, it does not appear at the first sight to be so prodigious in its dimensions. This is indeed the principal excellence of the whole: it is the beautiful

adaptation of the proportions, which distinguishes this edifice from every other. Accordingly there are many objects which seem small, or only of the common size, which are really far above it. As an instance of this, the two angels may be mentioned, which support the fonts on the first pillars of the nave: they have the appearance of representing children, but are really larger than the natural size of a man. So also the dove with an olive branch in its mouth, which occurs so frequently in this cathedral, (being the arms of Innocent X. Pamfili,) and forms an ornament on each of the pillars of the nave, seems to be easily within reach of every person, but can with difficulty be reached by the hand of the tallest.

In the nave there are only three arches, and only one in the tribune, but notwithstanding this, the eye can scarcely distinguish what is at the end of the church, so prodigious and at the same time so correct are the proportions. The whole length is 609 feet,^m the width of the nave 91; the length of the transepts is 445. Upon the floor, which is composed of large blocks of marble of singular beauty, and disposed in various devices, are marked the lengths of some of the principal churches in Europe: that of St. Paul's in London comes next, being 521 feet long; then that of Milan, 439; next that of St. Paul's at Rome, and

^m That is, from wall to wall. If we take in the thickness of the walls and the width of the portico, the whole length will be 722 English feet.

lastly S. Sophia at Constantinople, which is only 357.^a

Nothing forms so striking an ornament in this cathedral, as the profusion of marble, which is introduced into every part; much of this is ancient, and the varieties are of the greatest rarity and beauty. This, together with the gilded roof, the statues, the monuments, the Mosaic ceilings, and pictures, forms a display of brilliant and unexampled magnificence, which requires weeks and almost years to contemplate. The only thing to be regretted is, that the great pilasters between the arches of the nave are not of marble, but stucco; this however is little perceptible to the eye, and requires perhaps to be pointed out, before it would be complained of. These pilasters are 83 feet high, and in them are statues of the founders of various religious orders, many of them executed by great artists, and of singular beauty; there are more of them in the transepts, and the following is an alphabetical list of them, with a short account of their lives.

ÆMILIANUS. Born in 1481, at Venice. He was at first a soldier, and established his order for the benefit of orphans at Somasco, a village between Milan and Bergamo, about the year 1531. Augustins.

BENEDICTUS. Born in 480, or, as some say, 452, at Nursia, in the country of the Sabines. He first took to a religious life at Sublacum (Subiaco): he esta-

^a Some accounts make the length only 240 feet. Vide Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*.

blished a monastery at Monte Cassino, where he died March 21, 542, and was buried there.*

BRUNO. Born in 1021 at Cologne. He founded the Carthusian order in 1080. The name was taken from a place called Chartreuse in Dauphinè, to which he retired. He died 1101, and was canonized 1514. Benedictines.†

CAMILLUS DE LELLIS. Born in 1550 at Bucchianico in Abruzzo. He was at first a soldier, and having been twice cured in an hospital, he founded his order for relieving the sick in 1591. He died July 14, 1614, at Rome.

CAIETANUS. *Ordo Clericorum Regularium.* This order was established about the year 1524, and the members of it were called Theatins, from J. P. Caraffa, Bishop of Theate or Chieti, in the Kingdom of Naples, who was afterwards Paul IV. Caietan was born in 1480 at Vicenza, died in 1547, and was canonized in 1669. Augustins.

CALASANCTIUS JOSEPHUS. *Ordo Scholarum Piarum.* He was born in 1556 at Peralte de la Sal in Arragon; had his order confirmed by Gregory XV. in 1621, and died in 1648. Augustins.

DOMINICUS. Born in 1170 at Calaurega in Spain. He encouraged the Crusades against the Albigenses, and founded the Inquisition. He died August 5, 1223, at Bologna, and was canonized by Gregory IX. Augustins.

* Trithemius, who is followed by Baronius, enumerates 18 Popes, above 200 Cardinals, 1,600 Archbishops, about 4,000 Bishops, 15,700 Abbots, and 15,600 Saints of the Benedictine order before his time: he was born in 1462.

† The statue of S. Bruno is considered one of the best in S. Peter's. It is by Slodtz, a Frenchman, who died in 1764.

ELIAS. The Carmelites say, that they were the first to erect a chapel to the Virgin Mary, which they did A.D. 53, on Mount Carmel, and claim the Prophet Elias as founder of their society. They had no written rules till 1122. Sozomen, the Ecclesiastical Historian, mentions the tradition,^q that Monachism began with Elias and John the Baptist.

FALCONIERI. Born 1270 at Florence. In 1317 she was elected superior of an order of Servites, and established a new one, which was confirmed in 1424. She died 1341.

FRANCISCUS. Born 1182 at Assisum, near Spoleto. Innocent III. confirmed the order of Friars Minor in 1209. He died October 4, 1226, and was buried at Assisum. Augustins.^r

FRANCISCUS DE PAOLA. Born 1416 at Paola near Cosenza in Calabria. The order of Minims was confirmed in 1473. Louis XI. sent for him into France, and his son Francis was called after him. He died in 1507 at Tours. Augustins.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA. Born in 1492 at Loyola in Biscay: established the order of Jesuits in 1540: died in 1556: canonized in 1622.^s

JOANNES DE DEO. Born in 1495 at Monte Major in Portugal: founded the order of Hospitality: died 1550. Augustins.

NERI FILIPPO. Born at Florence in 1515: founded the Congregation of the Oratory: died at Rome in 1595: canonized in 1622.

^q Lib. i. c. 12.

^r At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were 115,000 Franciscan Friars in 7,000 convents; and 28,000 Franciscan Nuns in 900 nunneries.

^s In the year 1710, there were 19,998 members of this order, of whom 9,947 were priests.

NOLASCO. Born at Lauraguais in Languedoc: formed a society in Spain for the redemption of captives in 1218. He himself was a layman, and died in 1286: canonized in 1628. Augustins.

NORBERTO. Born in 1082 near to Cleves: retired to Premontre, in the Bishopric of Laon, and founded the Præmonstratensian order in 1120: died in 1134: canonized 1582. Augustins.

PETRUS DE ALCANTARA. Born in 1499 at Alcantara in Estremadura. His reform of the Franciscan Order was approved of in 1554: died in 1562: canonized in 1669.

THERESA. Born in 1515 at Avila in Spain. Though a woman, she was at the head of an order of men, which was confirmed in 1562, and called Nova Reformat. Ord. Discalc. B. M. de Monte Carmele. She died 1582: canonized in 1622.

VINCENTIUS A PAULO. Congreg. Missionis. Born in 1576 at Pouy in France: died in 1660.

+ The object which commands most attention, from its situation as well as its costliness, is the *Baldacchino*, or canopy, immediately under the dome and over the high altar. It is entirely of bronze, and the ornaments are mostly gilt; the four pillars which support it are twisted, and in other respects it is by no means in good taste, nor in unison with the majestic simplicity of the rest; but from its vast size, and the richness of the work, it can hardly fail to be admired. The height of it is almost incredible; some accounts making it 122 feet from the floor; and it is a common saying, that it is as high as the Farnese palace, which is one of the loftiest in Rome.

This is another proof of the admirable proportion which prevails in all the parts; for, standing as it does in the centre of this stupendous edifice, its height appears by no means extraordinary. It was made in 1633, under the direction of Bernini; and the Bees, dispersed about in all directions, attest the Pontificate of Urban VIII. of the Barberini family, who bear this device. The cost is estimated at 100,000 *scudi* (£22,727); the gilding alone cost 40,000 (£9,091). It is generally said, that it was made of the bronze taken from the Pantheon by Urban VIII.; but this is denied by Fea, who relates, upon the authority of books now existing, that all the metal was bought in Venice. This has been already alluded to at p. 174. (vol. i.)

Under this canopy is the high altar, which is only used on the most solemn ceremonies; and beneath it reposes the body of St. Peter. It is said, that he suffered martyrdom on the neighbouring hill of S. Pietro in Montorio, and that his body was deposited in an adjoining cemetery. Pope Anacletus has the merit of having erected a chapel over the spot, in the year 106, and of enclosing the body in a marble urn. But it appears, from Platina, that it was moved back again to the place of his crucifixion by Pope Cornelius (who reigned A. D. 250-2). Constantine once more transported his remains to the place of their original interment, over which the present Basilica was erected; and it is reported, that he enclosed them in a covering of brass and copper, so that his relics can never be seen. In the painting in

the *Hall of Constantine*, which represents the donation made by that emperor to Pope Sylvester of the city of Rome, the Tribune of the old church is introduced, and the Confessional over the tomb of St. Peter, round which are twelve spiral columns, eight of which are still preserved in the great pillars supporting the cupola. The descent to the shrine is by a double flight of steps, and 112 lamps are kept constantly burning round it. At the bottom of the steps it is intended to place the statue of Pius VI. which is being executed by Canova. The pope is to be represented kneeling, and looking towards the tomb of the apostle; an appropriate attitude for a Roman pontiff; but, considering the peculiar sanctity of the place, it would perhaps have been fitter that no other monument should occupy the spot; at least there seems no reason why Pius VI. should have an honour conferred upon him, greater than any of his predecessors since St. Peter himself.

Opposite to each arch of the nave is a chapel recessed back from the side aisles. These chapels are each of them well worthy of observation, from the splendid decorations which have been bestowed upon them. Mosaic-work and the richest marbles are scattered about them with the greatest profusion; and almost all of them contain a specimen of that wonder of the art, pictures executed in Mosaic. There are altogether twenty-nine altars in St. Peter's, over each of which is one of these Mosaic pictures, of which some

description may be here introduced. Several fine paintings were at different times executed for this church by the greatest masters, and for a time occupied the stations appointed to them; but it being found that the walls of the church were too damp, it was very judiciously determined to remove the paintings to a safer place, and have copies taken of them in Mosaic. Consequently, there is only one painting of any size or excellence in St. Peter's, and that is in oils upon the wall. It represents the fall of Simon Magus, painted by Francesco Vanni; and as the story is not canonical, it was not ordered to be copied in Mosaic. Such is the reason given; but if true, the government must afterwards have become less scrupulous, as another picture of the same subject, by Battoni, has been copied; the Mosaic is now in St. Peter's, and the original painting is in the Certosa. Simon Magus having gone to Rome before St. Peter arrived there, preached very heretical and immoral doctrines. He pleased Nero exceedingly; and gave out, that on a certain day he should ascend into heaven. The confederate dæmons assisted him in rising from the earth, but at the prayers of St. Peter he fell to the ground, and fractured his legs; in consequence of which he died, in the year 66 or 67. So says tradition!† Eusebius tells us, that St.

† The Apostolical Constitutions, which are probably as old as the third century, mention that he was bruised in an attempt to fly, lib. ii. c. 14; and more at length, lib. vi. c. 9. Arnobius, lib. ii. Augustin. de Petro et Paulo.

Peter went to Rome to oppose the progress of Simon Magus, and that he succeeded in checking his pernicious doctrine; but he does not add any thing further.^u Justin Martyr informs us, that a statue was erected to Simon Magus in the river Tiber, between the two bridges, with this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*.^x The paintings that were removed are mostly to be seen in the church of the Certosa, or S. Maria degli Angioli. Copies were also taken of the most celebrated paintings in other churches, and all of them are now in St. Peter's.

The building where this Mosaic-work is carried on is not far from the cathedral, and forms part of that which was (and I am afraid is still) used for the office of the Inquisition. The small pieces, which when put together compose the picture, are a vitrified substance called *Smalte*, compounded of glass, lead, and tin; and I was assured, that there are 15,000 different shades of colour. When Urban VIII. first conceived the idea of substituting Mosaics for the paintings, the substance used was marble; and Gio. Battista Calendra of Vercelli copied the painting of Michael the Archangel by Arpina. It was found, however, that there was too great a glare produced by the polish of the marble, and it ceased to be used as a material for Mosaic.

^u Lib. ii. c. 14.

^x Apol. i. 26. Clem. Recogn. lib. ii. c. 9. Irenæus also says, that a statue was erected to him by Claudius, adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 23. Tertull. Apologet. 13.

Of the skill of the ancients in Mosaic we have many proofs remaining, which have suffered but little from time, beside the testimony of Pliny, who mentions the excellence to which the art had attained. But there is no evidence to induce us to believe, that the ancients at all approached to the perfection which the moderns may boast.⁷ The art seems never to have been lost in Rome; and we have specimens remaining of almost every period of the middle ages, when painting can hardly be said to have existed. Tiraboschi⁸ shows, that under the Goths and Lombards Mosaic-work was not neglected. We may see a specimen of the fifth century in S. Maria Maggiore and S. Paul's; and of the eighth century at the *Scala Santa*, near the Lateran. This at least may be allowed to be one of the arts, in which the moderns have excelled the ancients: indeed it is impossible to conceive an adequate idea of the effect produced, without seeing these master pieces in St. Peter's. At a distance and in certain lights even an experienced eye might fancy them to be paintings: and as there is every reason to suppose that the colours are as durable as the substances themselves, after-ages will have to appeal to these pictures as a proof of the conception of a Raffael or a Domenichino, when the originals of those great masters have been

⁷ Pliny tells us that Mosaic pavements were introduced into Rome in the time of Sylla.

⁸ Tom. iii. part 1. p. 80, 149.

totally obliterated. These Mosaic pictures cost about 20,000 crowns (£4,546) apiece. The best is said to be the martyrdom of S. Petronilla, the original of which is now in the Capitol. The Mosaics, which ornament the cupolas of the several chapels, and likewise the great cupola itself, (the whole interior of which is covered with them,) produce a most brilliant effect: but when viewed near, they are found to be executed in the roughest style, which is necessary for the distance at which they are seen.

The chapel, where the mass is daily celebrated, is on the left-hand upon entering the church. There is nothing particular to make it observable: the organ is a good one, and at vespers on Sunday evening there is always a great concourse of people, particularly of foreigners, to hear the music, which is generally extremely beautiful. Sermons are preached here upon the customary occasions.

In the first chapel on the right hand, called that of the Crucifix, is a figure of the Virgin supporting a dead Christ, which is called, as such subjects always are, a *Pietà*. It is the work of Michel Angelo, and one of his earliest performances, having been executed by him at the age of twenty-four, at the expense of John, Cardinal of S. Denis, ambassador from the King of France. The work having been attributed to a Milanese sculptor, M. Angelo secured his own claim by cutting his name on a fillet, which surrounds the waist of the Virgin. Some have found fault with

it, because the son is represented as an older person than his mother. Several copies of it may be seen in Rome and elsewhere. Marini has these lines upon it, which have been much admired:*

Sasso non è costei
 Che l'estinto figliol freddo qual ghiaccio
 Sostien pietosa in braccio:
 Sasso piu presto sei,
 Tu, che non piangi alla pietà di lei.
 Anzi sei piu che sasso,
 Che suol' anco da' sassi il pianto uscire,
 E i sassi si spezzaro al suo morire.

She is not stone, who bears
 Her lifeless Son, with icy stiffness cold,
 In her arms' tenderest fold:
 But thou art stony grown,
 Thou, who at grief like this hast shed no tears:
 Nay thou art more than stone,
 For rocks will weep, and pour a trickling tide,
 And rocks were rent in twain, when Jesus died.

A list of some of the relics preserved in this chapel may be considered curious: such as some wood of the true cross; part of the cradle, the hay, and the manger, connected with the nativity; part of the veil of the Virgin Mary; some of her hair; part of Joseph's cloak and girdle; some ashes of John the Baptist; one finger of St. Peter; *le antichissime imagini* (whether in

* Madrigale, 158.

painting or sculpture is not stated) of St. Peter and St. Paul; St. Luke's head; one finger and one shoulder of St. Stephen. The pillar also is in this chapel, against which Christ leaned when he preached to the people. It is one of the twelve which will be mentioned presently, as having stood round the high altar in the old church.

In mentioning the curiosities of this church, the statue of St. Peter should not be omitted, which stands against the last pillar of the nave, near to the Baldacchino. A Roman antiquary^b informs us, that this was made by order of St. Leo out of the bronze of a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus; and that it was intended as an offering for St. Peter having liberated Rome from the fury of Attila. There was a marble statue of St. Peter outside of the old church over a gate in the portico, which was held in great veneration, and is now in the *Grotte Vaticane*. The workmanship of the present one is extremely rude; and though it is called a bronze statue, it has much more the appearance of iron. It is the figure which is so frequently kissed by the faithful: no Roman Catholic will pass it without going through the ceremony; and the usual form is to kiss the foot two or three times, pressing the forehead against it between each salutation: some will repeat each ceremony much oftener. The right foot projects for this purpose, and great part of it is worn away by the operation: which calls to

^b Turrigius de Crypt. Vat. p. 126.

mind the words of Cicero in his description of a statue of Hercules at Agrigentum, "that his mouth and chin were somewhat worn, because in their prayers and thanksgivings they were accustomed not only to worship but to kiss it."^c

The tribune is extremely rich, but in bad taste, from a large glory, which forms the principal feature, and which is remarkable for being almost, if not absolutely, the only piece of stained glass in Rome. The bronze, which is used so plentifully in its decoration, is said to have come from the Pantheon, as well as that of which the Baldacchino is composed. Within a large chair of bronze, raised a considerable height, is the identical seat which St. Peter and many of his successors used; but it is completely cased in its outer covering, which was made in 1667; and this precious relic can only be seen by mounting an internal staircase. It is reported to be of wood, with ornaments of ivory and gold. It would be the height of temerity to question the genuineness of this chair after what Bonanni has said upon the subject.^d The reader may perhaps

^c In Ver. Act 2. lib. iv. c. 43. Mr. Blunt has given this quotation in his very ingenious work upon the manners and customs of Italy and Sicily. He also refers to Lucretius i. 318.

^d C. xxiii. p. 131. There is also a dissertation, by Febei, upon the antiquity and identity of this chair.

wish to see the passage, but he must not expect me to incur the penalties of it by attempting to refute it. " This is the chair of St. Peter, which " he occupied as universal pastor, till he suffered " death for Christ's sake. This fact has been so " fully proved, that the few sectaries who deny " it must be most barefaced, or a set of children, " and silly children too, such as Velcinus, whom " Roffensis has refuted, Sebastian of France, and " some obscure Englishmen to be found in Saunders." Beside the danger of classing ourselves among these our unfortunate countrymen, it would be lost labour to dispute the question, after the arguments which are adduced by Bonanni. In the first place, the miracles that have been wrought by it fully attest its apostolical antiquity. Secondly, Calvin doubted, because it was made of wood, so perishable a material. " But if this were a true ground for doubt," says the honest Bonanni, " the true cross and the " cradle of our Saviour are made of wood, as are " several statues of the saints, and nobody doubts " about them." It would perhaps have been more to his purpose to have reminded his readers, that Eusebius, who wrote in the fourth century, says, that the episcopal chair of S. James was still shown at Jerusalem in his time.* There is also a passage in Tertullian^f which may perhaps

* Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19. and 32.

^f De Præscript. Hæret. c. 36. Percurre Ecclesias Aposto-

imply that the authentic chairs of the Apostles were preserved in those cities, in which they had founded sees: and another author may be quoted as mentioning the preservation of S. Peter's Throne at Antioch.⁸ But both these last passages will admit another interpretation. The Acts of S. Mark, which are but a poor authority, inform us that the chair used by that evangelist at Alexandria was still preserved there, and was made of ivory.

The chair is supported by two fathers of the Latin Church, Augustin and Ambrose, and two of the Greek, Chrysostom and Athanasius. St. Augustin was born in 354, at Tagasta in Numidia, and died in 430. St. Ambrose was born in 333 or 340, at Treves, and died in 397. St. Chrysostom was born at Antioch in 347, made patriarch of Constantinople in 397, and died in 407. St. Athanasius was born about 294, in Egypt, was made patriarch of Alexandria in 326, and after being several times expelled and reinstated, died in 373. These men were worthy of supporting the chair of St. Peter, and deserve much ampler mention than this dry chronicle of their births and deaths. It will be found in some accounts, that all the four supporters are fathers of the Latin Church, and

licas, apud quas *ipsæ adhuc cathedræ* Apostolorum suis locis præsident, apud quas *ipsæ authenticæ literæ* eorum recitantur.

⁸ Theodor. ep. 86: τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχείαν μεγαλόπολιν ἔχει.

that the two others are St. Jerom, who was born in 340, at Stridon in Dalmatia, and died in 420 ; and St. Gregory, who was a Roman, and pope from 590 to his death in 604. But the former account is the true one. The steps which lead up to this church are of porphyry, and served for the same purpose in the old church.

Of the monuments, though much deserves to be said, I cannot attempt a detailed description. From the instances being so few where works of this nature command general and unmixed approbation, it would seem, that to design a good monument is among the most difficult branches of the art. Even where a tomb alone is to be executed, without any figures real or allegorical, success is but rarely obtained ; and the difficulty must be considerably increased where figures or groupes of figures are to be represented. The ancients and the moderns seem to have had different ideas upon this subject. From the monuments which remain to us of former times, it would seem not to have been customary in ancient Greece or Rome to consider statues as part of a sepulchral ornament: they were satisfied with a sarcophagus, or some other tomb, sculptured indeed occasionally with bas-reliefs or busts, but very different from the modern taste, which in all monuments to great characters represent figures as large as life, and sometimes nothing else but figures. Our own St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey will serve to illustrate this remark: and perhaps what has

been said above of the few successful specimens, will also be borne out in these two collections.

Perhaps one cause of the dissatisfaction which so frequently arises in viewing these works, is to be found in the want of any fixed rules and principles of criticism to guide us in contemplating them: and this comes immediately from the fact mentioned above of the ancients having left no models of this kind. In Grecian buildings of modern erection we praise the architect, not for the originality of his genius, but for the correctness of his taste; and according as he has adhered to or departed from the strict rules prescribed to him from antiquity, is the degree of praise which we bestow upon him. In painting we have no ancient standards left by which we can judge; but who will deny, that in forming our opinion of a modern picture we go back as far as we can, and we always compare it with the productions of the early masters? Even in poetry, a wildness of imagination (which is only originality under different forms) is censured by many as a fault; and all branches of composition, whether epic, dramatic, or pastoral, are submitted to prescribed laws and canons before judgment is passed. Let it not be supposed that I presume to condemn what I allow is practised by all. It is perhaps inherent in our nature to look up to authority in forming an opinion; those who have no taste of their own, either natural or acquired, must adopt the sentiments of others, unless they submit to

being either silent upon such subjects, or to expose themselves to constant ridicule: and even those who are said to have the finest taste, must have imbibed such notions before they were capable of judging for themselves: so that insensibly, and without being conscious of it, they are speaking what they have learnt from their predecessors, while they fancy that they are uttering their own sentiments. In fact, taste may be defined an habitual and extemporaneous agreement with the majority of mankind upon subjects which were at first arbitrary.

For sepulchral monuments no rules seem to have been laid down, nor are any particular models appealed to. In inscriptions there are certain turns of expression which are considered classical; and in these it is generally reckoned better to follow precedent, than to adopt new phrases: which again confirms the observation made above, that, whenever we can, we form our judgments upon the most ancient authority which remains to us. But in the fashion of our monuments we have adopted designs which the ancients seem not to have countenanced; and as yet we are by no means agreed amongst ourselves as to what is to be held classical in this way.

If these remarks contain any truth, they will perhaps account for the different opinions which are expressed as to the monuments in St. Peter's. The finest are those erected to the Popes. The deceased pontiff is generally represented as large

as life; and the attitude of benediction which is commonly assigned to them, as well as their official robes, are by no means the best suited for sculptural effect. The statue of Clement X. by Ercole Ferrata, is an instance of this. He is sitting, and the whole attitude is extremely formal. The same may be said of Innocent VIII. in bronze, by Ant. Pollajolo. That of Gregory XIII. is much better, which was executed in plaister by Prospero of Brescia. Leo XI. by Algardi is also sitting, and extremely like Clement X., but his eyes not being turned in an unmeaning way upon the spectator, or rather upon nothing, the effect produced is not so formal; which shows how very little is sufficient to give a character to a picture or a statue; for the two figures are in every way similar, and the drapery equally inelegant. The figure of Alexander VII. is kneeling, which might be thought a becoming posture for a Christian monument: but sculpture has more to do with grandeur and animation than with piety and humility. These virtues are delightful when practised, but there is nothing pleasing or edifying in immoveable and inanimate devotion. Beside which, the mass of drapery is far too heavy, and we want to see the sculptor's skill displayed in something more than the mere face and hands.

Figures of allegorical design are often introduced. In the monument to the right of St. Peter's chair, two figures will be observed at the foot of the pope, Paul III., which represent Prudence

and Justice. The figure of Justice has her drapery partly composed of bronze, which accords extremely ill with the marble. The reason of this incongruity arose from the delicate scruples of one of the popes, who, being shocked at the naked figure which Giacomo della Porta had placed upon the tomb under the direction of Michel Angelo, ordered it to be covered in the way which we now see by Bernini.

The monument corresponding to this on the other side of St. Peter's chair is to Urban VIII. also by Bernini. The statue of the pope is in bronze, and, like the others, not pleasing. Of the allegorical figures below, Charity on the right is beautifully designed and executed. I should almost prefer it to those on the tomb of Paul III. which are so much admired. There is too much formality and study in these being placed back to back, and turning round to look at each other. The figure of Charity is perfect nature. She seems wholly intent upon the two children, without appearing to study an attitude for the artist; which is what all painters and sculptors should endeavour to avoid. Death is represented as inscribing Urban's name in a book, upon which Cardinal Rapacciolio wrote this epigram :

Bernin si vivo il grande Urbano ha finto,
E si ne' duri bronzi è l'alma impressa,
Che per togli la fè, la Morte stessa
Sta su'l Sepolcro, a dimostrarlo estinto.

Such life, such warmth, Bernini's touch can shed,
So stamp'd in bronze the very soul appears,
That o'er the tomb the grisly tyrant rears
His form, to tell us—that the soul is fled.

Among these monuments, which have employed some of the best sculptors in Italy, that to Clement XIII. by Canova challenges a comparison with any. The genius of Death is one of the finest conceptions of the art, and as finely executed. A similar figure may be seen at Vienna in the monument to the Archduchess Christina, in the church of the Augustins, which is also the work of Canova. The corresponding figure, that of Religion, is certainly not so successful, and may be called disproportioned and clumsy. Two lions, however, one sleeping, the other with a ferocious air, are sufficient of themselves to stamp the sculptor's fame: they are among the finest specimens of sculpture which Rome can boast.

Before we proceed to describe the dome, something may be said of the subterraneous part, or *Grotte Vaticane*, under the high altar.^h No woman is allowed to enter this part of the church, except on the second festival of Pentecost, and then the same prohibition is extended to men. It has been already observed, that this is part of the original church, and is said to be that which was built over the burial-ground of the Christians,

^h This part has been described in a separate work, by Torrigio, entitled *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane*.

who suffered in the early persecutions. The old pavement is still preserved, eleven feet below that of the present church, and the antiquary will be interested with some paintings, which represent views of the former Basilica. The tombs of the early popes are curious, as are some old bas-reliefs, and some very ancient statues of St. Peter. Upon a stone here are the words of the grant, by which the Countess Matilda bequeathed her possessions to the papal see. It is dated 1102.ⁱ Adrian IV. the only English pope,^k whose name was Nicholas Brekespere, is buried here, and several characters distinguished in history. Among other tombs are those of the Stuart family, with inscriptions to James III. Charles III. and Henry IX. (Cardinal of York,) who are all styled Kings of Great Britain, *France*, and Ireland. In the church above there is a handsome monument to Maria Clemen-

ⁱ This was the second grant, which she made after her separation from her second husband. The first grant was made to Gregory VIII. about the year 1077, upon the death of her first husband, Godfrey, Duke of Lorrain. Matilda was daughter of Boniface, Duke of Tuscany, and died in 1115. The March of Ancona has been held by the see of Rome, with few interruptions, ever since that time. She was buried in a convent near Mantua, and her remains were removed to S. Peter's in 1635, by Urban VIII. who erected a handsome monument over them.

^k Unless we reckon Pope Joan, who is said by some writers to have followed Leo IV. in 855, under the name of John VIII. He or she was a native of Dunstable. Platina rather supports the story.

tina, Queen of the Pretender James III. erected at the expense of the cathedral, which cost 4091 pounds.¹ She is also presented with the crown of France among her other titles. Opposite to this a monument has lately been erected to the memory of Cardinal York, which is executed by Canova. The present King of England contributed largely to the expense of it, but it is represented as being no very successful specimen of that great sculptor's talents.

What principally makes St. Peter's the wonder of the world is the cupola. The enormous size of the four supports of it has been already mentioned. They are about 240 feet in circumference, and 178 in height. Each of the four has two niches in front, one above the other. In the lower ones are statues of saints, and some of the most precious relics are preserved in them. S. Veronica has her veil or sudarium: S. Helena has part of the true cross: S. Andrew (whose statue is the best of the four, and is the work of Fiammingo) takes charge of his own head:^m and the fourth statue, by Bernini, is that of S. Longi-

¹ She had retired to a convent before her death, because her husband kept a mistress.

^m Beside the head of S. Andrew, that of S. Luke, together with the whole bodies of S. Simon, S. Jude, and S. Matthias, are said to be deposited in this Basilica. It should be mentioned, however, that the Churches of S. Job, at Venice, and of S. Justina, at Padua, each claim possession of the body of S. Luke; and Evelyn says, that S. Matthias reposes in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore.

nus, the soldier, who pierced our Saviour's side. Some remarks may be made upon these statues and relics.

It is unfortunate, or at least suspicious, for this sudarium of S. Veronica, that there are no less than six rival ones shown in different places, viz. Turin, Milan, Cadoin in Perigort, Besancon, Compeign, and Aix-la-Chapelle. That at Cadoin has fourteen bulls to declare it genuine; that at Turin has only four:^a what credentials the other churches may be able to produce, I have not learned. Perhaps, however, all our suspicions may be removed by an explanation given to me by a person at Rome, that the linen, which S. Veronica applied, consisted of different folds; consequently the impression of the countenance went through all of them, and each successive fold must be as genuine as the other. There is also another way of reconciling these conflicting claims. The authentic accounts make three folds in the original handkerchief; but the cloth, which was wrapped round our Saviour's head in the sepulchre, received the same miraculous impression of his features; and it is said, that this is the treasure preserved at Turin. We may increase this catalogue by mentioning what is related by some ancient writers, that Christ himself sent to Abgarus, King of Edessa, a cloth with the features of his countenance impressed upon it. Abgarus had sent a painter to take the portrait

^a Misson's Travels.

of our Saviour; but he was unable to do it on account of the dazzling brightness of his countenance. The cloth is said to have been conveyed from Edessa to Constantinople, in the year 944.^o After all it seems doubtful, whether we are to take Veronica for the name of a woman, or of the sudarium itself. Marianus Scotus, a writer of the eleventh century, is the first who makes any mention of such a person having existed. He tells us, upon the authority of one Methodius, that Tiberius being ill of a leprosy, and having heard much of the miracles of Christ, sent ambassadors into Judea. Accordingly a woman, named Berenice, came to Rome, and cured the emperor by an application of the sudarium, which was in her possession. She had offered it to our Saviour as he was going to be crucified, and was labouring under the weight of the cross: his features remained impressed upon it; and engravings may be bought in Rome, which are copied from this relic. The fourth of February is sacred to this saint; and however the question may be decided as to her real or fabulous existence, she receives the prayers of her votaries as regularly as her companions in the calendar.^p

^o Authorities for this tale may be found in Durant de Rit. Cath. lib. i. c. 5. The cloth itself is said to be preserved in the Church of S. Silvestro in Capite. Aring. Rom. Subt. tom. ii. lib. v. c. 4.

^p Tillemont is more candid upon this subject than might have been expected. Mem. tom. i. p. 243.

The Volto Santo was placed in 707 by John VII. in an altar erected by him within an oratory of the old Basilica. After being removed successively to the Church of S. Spirito in Sassia, and to the Rotonda, it was finally deposited in its present situation in 1605. It was formerly kept under six keys, each of which was in the custody of different families: it is now secured by three keys, one of which is kept by the pope. The frame was given by three Venetians in 1350. I saw this precious relic exhibited at Easter; but the height was so great, at which the person stood who displayed it, that nothing satisfactory could be seen: it certainly had the figure of a human countenance.

We may observe, that the Italian painters have agreed in giving to our Saviour a certain cast of features, as they have to S. Peter and some other of the Apostles, so that we may immediately recognise their portraits. Some, however, paint his hair dark, and others light. We know that in the fifth century there was some tradition as to the correct manner of representing our Saviour's countenance: and one writer informs us, that he ought to be drawn with a small quantity of hair, and that soft and curling.^q The words of Isaiah, (liii. 2.) have been interpreted as predicting, that the countenance of the Messiah was not to be pleasing.^r This is very different from the de-

^q ὀλίγον καὶ οὐλομένον. Theodor. Lect. i. 15.

^r Clemens Alexand. understood them so. Pæd. lib. iii. c. 1.

scription given in the letter of Lentulus, Proconsul of Syria, to the Roman Senate; which, though the letter is acknowledged to be spurious, may be not unacceptable to my readers. “He is a
“tall well-proportioned man: there is an air of
“serenity in his countenance, which attracts at
“once the love and reverence of those who see
“him. His hair is of the colour of new wine
“from the root to the ears, and from thence to
“the shoulders it is curled, and falls down to the
“lowest part of them. Upon the forehead it
“parts in two, after the manner of the Nazarenes.
“His forehead is flat and fair; his face without
“any defect, and adorned with a very graceful
“vermilion. His air is majestic and agreeable.
“His nose and mouth are very well-proportioned;
“and his beard is thick and forked, of the colour
“of his hair. His eyes are grey and extremely
“lively: . . there is something wonderfully charm-
“ing in his face, with a mixture of gravity. . . He
“is very strait in stature: his hands are large and
“spreading, and his arm very beautiful. . . He is
“the handsomest man in the world.”

S. Helena, as is well known, was mother of the Emperor Constantine, and, as some have laboured to prove, of English birth. Among the rest, Baronius asserts this story, making Helena to be daughter of Coel, a British prince. But Gibbon

Strom. lib. ii. § 5; lib. iii. § 17; lib. vi. § 17. So also Tertullian, de Idololat. c. 18; adv. Jud. c. 14; de Carne Christi. c. 9. Origen c. Cels. lib. vi. c. 75.

contradicts it,^a and apparently with reason. Her moral character was not immaculate; but her irregularities were previous to her conversion to Christianity. She was canonized for bringing the true cross to Italy, from Jerusalem; the history of which event is this. The empress, having a great wish to discover the true cross, made a journey to Jerusalem for that purpose, where there seems to have been a tradition that it had been buried, though the spot was not known. Sozomen gives it as his opinion,^t that she had a special revelation from God as to the place of its concealment. But he also mentions a tradition, which is followed by the Roman Breviary, that her success was not so miraculously obtained. Having convened a great number of Jews, and demanded of them the desired information, they refused to impart it; upon which she threatened to put them to death; and they at length confessed that Judas, one of their number, could disclose the secret. He, however, was equally obstinate, until he had passed several days without food in a dry cistern, where the empress had placed him to break his silence. Hunger at length prevailed over religious obstinacy, and he led the impatient empress to the spot. Search was immediately made, and three crosses were dug up. Still, however, they were at a loss to know which was the cross that had borne our

^a C. 14.^t Lib. ii. c. 1.

Saviour; for though the superscription was found, it was not attached to any of them. The faith of the empress soon hit upon an expedient. A woman, who laboured under some sickness, was made to touch successively each cross; two of them produced no effect, but the third cured her. This was of course the true cross. Part of it was put in a silver chest, and left where it was found; the rest, with the nails and superscription, was sent to Constantine, who was at Rome. He had a helmet constructed out of the nails, and a bit for his horse; which was considered as the completion of a prophecy of Zachariah.^u One of the nails he threw into the Adriatic Sea, to make it more tranquil,^x and another came by some means into the possession of the King of France.^y The discovery was made on the third of May, 326, and the event is still commemorated by the Romish Church on that day.^z It must be allowed, that the authorities for this discovery of the cross, and for some of the miraculous parts of the story, are very respectable, as may be seen by the note below. Eusebius, who lived at the time, says nothing about it, though he mentions the journey

^u C. xiv. v. 20.

^x Platinà, Vita Sylvestri, who quotes Ambrosius.

^y One of the nails was also preserved in the Cathedral of Milan, which was given to S. Ambrose by the Emperor Theodosius. Coryat, Crudities, p. 99.

^z Vide Ruffinus, lib. i. c. 8; lib. x. c. 20. Socrates, lib. i. c. 17. Sozom. lib. ii. c. 1. Cyril. Epist. ad Constantium.

of Helena to Jerusalem. Socrates tells us, that he related the story as he had heard it; but Sozomen is very particular in assuring us that his informers were to be relied upon, as having received the story by tradition from their fathers; he appeals also to former writers. Sozomen lived in the fifth century. Fragments of this cross have been dispersed all over Christendom, at least several churches pretend to have portions of it. Indeed as it was said miraculously to increase, to meet the demands of the faithful, we need not be surprised at the multiplied specimens of it.*

The head of St. Andrew was sent from Greece to Rome in the time of Pius II. in 1463. His body (whether headless or no I cannot learn) rests under the choir of the cathedral at Amalphi, which was dedicated to him in 1208, by Cardinal Capuano, who brought his remains thither from Constantinople. Several ancient writers^b speak of his bones being removed to the latter city from Achaia; which was done by the Emperor Constantius in the year 357. It has been already mentioned, that this statue of St. Andrew, by Fiammingo, is much admired; and it is reported

* In the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury there were as many fragments, at the time of the Reformation, as would have made a large whole cross.—Burnet.

^b Hieron. Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Luca. Dorotheus Synops. Philostorg. lib. iii. 1. Theodor. Lector. ii. 61.

of the sculptor, that he died mad, because Bernini, who was then chief architect of St. Peter's, and was jealous of Fiammingo, had caused the statue to be placed in a disadvantageous light. He had wished it to stand in the niche which is now occupied by the figure of S. Helena.^c

The most extraordinary canonization is that of Longinus, the soldier who pierced our Saviour's side.^d Tradition says, that having been baptized by the apostles, he became a monk, and converted great numbers to Christianity in Cappadocia, where at length he suffered martyrdom, under Octavius. This happened at Cæsarea. His tongue was cut out and his teeth extracted, notwithstanding which he held a long conference with the Governor; all which is preserved by the Roman Catholic historians. At length his head was cut off. The inhabitants of Mantua tell a very different story. They maintain, that he preached there, and suffered martyrdom in the second year after Christ's death. It certainly seems to be the orthodox opinion, that his body was found near Mantua in the year 804, and with it a chest containing some of our Saviour's blood. His place in the Calendar is the fifteenth of March. The name of Longinus is supposed to

^c Evelyn. Cicognara, Storia della Scultura.

^d Perhaps that of the good thief would equal it; for he also is in the catalogue of Romish Saints. His name was Dimas, that of the other was Gestas.

have been taken from the Greek term signifying a spear. This saint is confounded, even by Catholic writers, with the Centurion, also christened Longinus, who bore testimony to our Saviour's divinity at the crucifixion. The latter has also been canonized, together with two of his fellow-soldiers, who refused the money with which the chief priests bribed the guard at the sepulchre.*

The sacred lance, which pierced our Saviour's side, was formerly preserved with this statue, but it is now kept in the general repository for relics over the figure of S. Veronica. In the history of the first crusade under Godfrey de Bouillon, we read, that after the army had taken Antioch, in 1098, a Provençal or a Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, saw St. Andrew in a vision, who carried him through the air to the Church of St. Peter, and showed him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. Raymond, Count of Tholouse, embraced the story; search was made under the direction of Barthelemy, and at length he himself, descending into the excavation, found the precious relic. The sacred lance was carried before the army in battle, and the effect it had upon the soldiers was really miraculous. Still, however, many were incredulous; and the unfortunate Barthelemy actually fell a victim to his enthusiasm, being consumed in a fire, to which

* See Tillemont, Mem. tom. i. p. 254.

he voluntarily exposed himself as an ordeal. This event was probably fatal to the lance.^f

That which is preserved in St. Peter's rests upon very different testimony. It is said that St. Helena, beside finding the true cross at Jerusalem, discovered also the iron of the lance, which was carried to Constantinople. It was subsequently divided into two parts; the point was kept in the imperial palace, the other division in the Church of St. John of the Rock. It seems to be uncertain whether the division was made by Constantine II. who wished to give the point to Charlemagne; or whether Baldwin, while he was King of Constantinople, pawned it to the Venetians; from whom it was recovered by S. Louis, King of France. However, in 1492, Bajazet the Second, Sultan of Constantinople, sent the part, which did not contain the point, as a present to Pope Innocent VIII. to induce him not to protect his brother Zizim, who disputed the throne. The pope sent a solemn embassy to receive it; and for a long time it was preserved in the Vatican. In 1500 it was placed in a magnificent chapel, where was the statue of Longinus. But when this chapel was destroyed by Julius II. it was removed to the care of St. Veronica, where it has remained ever since. Benedict XIV. in one of his works,^g assures us, that while he was canon of this Basi-

^f Vide Mill's History of the Crusades, vol. i. p. 211.

^g De Beatific. et Canoniz. IV. p. 2, c. xxxi. n. 13.

lica, he had the exact measure of the point sent him from the Chapel Royal at Paris; and that after comparing the two together, they corresponded so exactly, that no manner of doubt could remain as to the identity of the two relics. It should be mentioned, that another lance is preserved in Nuremberg, which makes similar pretensions; but the orthodox give the preference to this in St. Peter's.^a It would be curious to trace the pedigree of the Nuremberg lance up to that which was found at Antioch, and for which poor Barthelemy was burnt.ⁱ There is another preserved in the Monastery of Eitch-maiadzen, in Armenia;^k and part of the sacred lance is mentioned in a list of relics, which were once in an English Church.^l

These relics are exhibited on Good-Friday and other days. No one is allowed to visit the place where they are kept, unless he has the rank of a canon. And those sovereigns or illustrious persons, who have sought this privilege, have first the honorary dignity of canon conferred upon them.

In each of the upper niches are two twisted

^a Baronius, ad an. 929.

ⁱ At the dissolution of monasteries in England, in 1538, among the relics preserved in the Abbey of Reading was an angel with one wing, that had brought over the spear's head which pierced our Saviour's side.

^k Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 189.

^l Dugdale, Monast. vol. i. p. 223.

columns, apparently of white marble, which are said to have been brought by Titus from the temple at Jerusalem, or, according to some,^m from the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Their antiquity is probably considerable; and Raffael seems to have copied them in his cartoon of the healing of the lame man in front of the temple. The four pillars, which support the Baldacchino, are also taken from them. There were twelve of these twisted pillars in the old church, which stood in front of the high altar. Two others stand in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament: another is in the chapel of the Crucifix, and the twelfth was broken in the removal. Anastasius, in his life of Gregory III. mentions, that this Pope, in 740, placed six *volubiles* (or *volutiles*) *columnas* round the altar, and that he had them from the exarch Eutychius. Six others were already there. It seems probable, that the pillars in the present church are those mentioned by Anastasius.

The concave part of the cupola is filled with mosaics, executed in the time of Clement VIII. and on the ceiling of the Lantern is another mosaic of God the Father. Some of the proportions are as follow.ⁿ From the cornice imme-

^m Turrigius de Crypt. Vat.

ⁿ The dimensions of all the parts of this building may be seen at the foot of the staircase leading up to the cupola. This is probably the most accurate account of all, and as such I have followed it.

diately above the pillars to the aperture of the lantern, 170 feet: from thence to the top of the cross 110; which added to the height of the supporters (178) makes the whole distance from the floor of the church to the top of the cross 458 feet. The internal diameter of the cupola is 140 feet, which is two feet less than that of the dome of the Pantheon. But at St. Peter's there is an inner and an outer wall to the cupola, between which is the staircase: so that the diameter of the whole is 195 feet.

The ascent to the top is tolerably easy. It commences by a succession of inclined plains without any steps, up which it is said that a carriage might be driven. From the roof of the church, the cupolas (of which there are six oval and four octangular, beside the great one) give it more the appearance of a town than any thing else, so astonishing is the size. A great crack may be observed in the roof of the nave, which probably took place in the original settling of the building. From hence, by different staircases, and at length between the two walls of the cupola, we come to the ball, which is said to contain sixteen persons, and is twenty-four feet in circumference. From the balustrade outside of the ball, it is not difficult to mount to the bottom of the cross by an iron ladder, which is in part quite perpendicular, and perhaps formidable. The cross is thirteen feet high.

Alarm has frequently been felt for the strength

and safety of the cupola, and at different times it has been asserted to be about to fall. Between the inner and outer curves several bands of iron may be observed: two of these were affixed when the building was first raised, and the others have been added subsequently. The Marquis Poleni published a work upon the subject, and in the *Lettere Pittoriche* are some original letters of his, dated 1744. He states that the bands of iron, which were placed in his time, weighed 148,407 pounds. The cupola of the Duomo at Florence has cracked even worse than that of St. Peter's, but no bands of iron have been used. It may be mentioned, that the lead in the cupola is obliged to be considerably repaired, if not renewed, about every ten years, from the corrosive effect of the *Scirocco*, which the Greeks and Latins called *Euronotus*. The heat of the sun is also said to be sometimes so intense, that it almost melts the lead. I have heard it mentioned, as an observation of the late professor Playfair, that this immense building absorbed so much heat during the summer, that it never wholly discharged it throughout the winter: and certainly the warm temperature of this church during the cold weather at Rome is very remarkable.

S. JOHN LATERAN.

This holds the second rank as a Basilica, though in former times it appears to have been superior to S. Peter's; and the chapter of the Lateran even now take precedence. Over the door is this inscription: *Sacrosancta Lateranensis Ecclesia, omnium urbis et orbis Ecclesiarum Mater et Caput*. When a new pope is elected, one of the first ceremonies is to take possession of the Lateran Basilica, which is done in great state and with a solemn procession. He is also crowned here. Its name is said to be derived from its being built on the site of the palace of Plautius Lateranus, who was named for consul in 65, but was put to death by Nero, for being privy to the conspiracy of Piso:° or it was perhaps named from another Claudius Lateranus, who was consul A.D. 198, and a particular friend of the emperor Sept. Severus. It has also been called Aurea, from the splendour of its decorations, and Constantiniana, from its founder. The buildings to be noticed are the Church itself with the Palace annexed, the Baptistery, and the *Scala Santa*. Of these the Baptistery is the oldest, and is said to have been erected by Constantine, when he was baptized by St. Sylvester.

° Tacitus, An. xv. c. 60.

Guicciardini,^p noticing the tradition of Constantine having given to Pope Sylvester the city of Rome and other towns and districts of Italy, adds, that so far from this being generally believed, it was argued by some, that all the stories about Constantine and Sylvester were untrue, and that they lived at different times. We know for certain (at least there is no reason to doubt the ecclesiastical histories^q in this particular) that Pope Sylvester reigned from 314 to 335; and it is equally certain, that Constantine gained his victory over Maxentius in 312, and reigned till 337, so that he undoubtedly might have been baptized by Pope Sylvester. The remark of Guicciardini would lead us to carry our scepticism too far: and with respect to Constantine's celebrated donation to the Papal See, the argument of the Protestants is surely weakened by denying the two personages to have been contemporary. For if we can show, that the emperor might have given the temporal sovereignty of Rome to the Pope, and yet, notwithstanding his great zeal for Christianity, he did not so bestow it, this surely makes more against the union of the temporal and spiritual power, than if we labour to prove by dates that they did not live at the same time. With respect to this question, which has excited so much controversy, thus

^p Lib. iv.

^q Sozomen begins his history with saying that Constantine and Sylvester were contemporaries.

much is certain, that Constantine and Sylvester were contemporaries: it is also now allowed on all hands, that the pretended deed of donation is spurious. Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, is generally said to be the first to mention it, and he did not write till 850; though Mosheim, the Protestant historian, thinks that it existed in the eighth century. The style is excessively barbarous, and the date is undoubtedly false; for the year assigned is 315, and the deed makes mention of the baptism of Constantine as having taken place then; which is certainly not correct. But what is stronger than all, Rome for a long time after remained subject to the Greek emperors, and the popes acknowledged their sovereignty.

The baptism of Constantine was also once a subject of controversy. Baronius positively asserts, that he was baptized by Pope Sylvester, assigns to it the year 324, and controverts all the arguments of those who maintain the contrary. Eusebius, however,^r who wrote in the following reign, expressly says, that he was baptized for the first time immediately before his death: and this opinion is now entertained by all Protestant writers,^s and by some Catholics.^t There was a

^r Life of Constantine, lib. iv. c. 61. See also Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 19.

^s Vide Gibbon, c. 20.

^t Perron, Petavius, &c.

mosaic in the old church, which represented the circumstance, under which was written,

Rex baptizatur et lepræ sorde lavatur.

We may now proceed to speak of the Baptistery, which is said to have been built by Constantine. It is octangular, and ornamented with several ancient columns: two of porphyry with the cornice over them are particularly observable at the door, which leads to the Basilica. The interior is certainly curious, and the architecture bespeaks an age, when taste had sadly degenerated: but it has not on the whole that appearance of antiquity, which I had attached to a building of the fourth century. I have since discovered, that Palladio considered it to be modern, and made of the spoils of ancient buildings.^u The font is evidently intended for immersion, and occupies a great proportion of the building. Anastasius^x describes the font as being of porphyry, and covered entirely both within and without with silver, of which the weight was 3008 pounds. In the middle of the font was a column of porphyry. It is only used on the Saturday before Easter, for baptizing Jews or other infidels, who have been converted to Christianity. The custom of having a baptistery distinct from the church is to be found in many Italian towns.

^u Vide his work upon Architecture, lib. iv. c. 16.

^x Vita Sylvest. A description of the ornaments of the font may also be seen in Platina.

They are generally round. At Florence and at Pisa baptisms could only be performed in one public font. At Parma also the baptistery is detached from the Duomo.

The Basilica, as it now stands, is to be dated from the time of Clement V. as the old church, (said also to have been built by Constantine,) was burnt in 1308. Nicephorus expressly says,⁷ that Constantine built it, and took the spade into his own hands to turn up the soil for a beginning. This is commemorated in the morning prayers for the ninth of November. The foundation was probably about the year 323. Leo III. about 800, had added very much to the old church, and Sergius III. in 903, almost rebuilt it, as it had suffered by an earthquake ten years before. Several of the succeeding popes added to and ornamented the new church, which Clement V. began, and the magnificent portico was added by Sixtus V. In this is a colossal statue of Constantine, found in his baths. This perhaps should not be called a portico, as there is no projection from the building: but I use the term rather in its ancient sense of a colonnade, extending along the whole front, and forming the entrance to the church.

Here, as at St. Peter's, it might be thought desirable, that there had been a projecting portico: but the designs of the two buildings are considerably different; and if we complain of a want

⁷ Lib. vii. c. 34. 46.

of simplicity in St. Peter's, we shall do so much more at the Lateran, where the fondness of the Italian architects for overloading their buildings with ornaments and breaking them into minute parts has been most luxuriantly displayed. Here, as at St. Peter's, some part of the bad effect may be ascribed to the necessity of constructing a balcony for the papal benediction: a recess of this kind in the front of a building is not ornamental, and other similar niches have been added for the sake of uniformity. On the top are fifteen statues of our Saviour and various saints. From the colonnade there are five entrances into the church; in the middle one is a bronze door, which came from what is called the Temple of Peace in the Forum. That to the right of it is the *Porta Santa*.

The interior is divided into five aisles, and in the pillars of the nave are colossal statues of the twelve Apostles, some of which are fine specimens of sculpture. The high altar contains the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul. At the altar of the sacrament, in the north transept, are two bronze columns, which are asserted to be the same which were constructed by order of Augustus, after the battle of Actium, from the beaks of the enemy's ships, and which Virgil is supposed to allude to, when he says,

— navali surgentes ære columnæ.—Georg. iii. 29.

One of the richest chapels in Rome is in this

church, that of the Corsini family. The tomb of Clement XII. who reposes here, is formed of a noble antique urn of porphyry, brought from the Pantheon.² It is commonly said, but without any foundation, to have contained the remains of Agrippa. It is known that he was buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus.³ I have already had occasion to mention, that in the Tribune there are four pointed arches; and an inscription states, that this part of the church was erected by Nicolas IV. who reigned from 1288 to 1292; so that this must be a portion which escaped the fire in 1308, and is the oldest part of the whole. Some mosaics in the concave part of the Tribune are curious from their antiquity, but otherwise extremely rude and ugly.

The adjoining palace was built by Constantine, and for more than a thousand years the popes made it their residence. Sextus V. rebuilt it in its present magnificent form; and in 1693 Innocent XII. turned it into a hospital for the poor.

Very near to the Basilica is the *Scala Santa*. Part of this belonged to the original church, and escaped the fire of 1308. Sextus V. added the portico and five staircases. It is that in the middle which gives the name to the building. It is said to have been sent from Pilate's house in

² This is not the only instance of a Pagan sarcophagus being consecrated to the remains of a pope. The tomb of Innocent II. was formerly that of Hadrian.

³ Dio, lib. 54.

Jerusalem to Helena, and people are allowed to ascend it only on their knees. It is composed of twenty-eight steps of marble; but they were wearing away so fast from the devotion of the faithful, that long ago they were cased with wood. This covering has been twice renewed, and the third already gives great proofs of the effect of constant attrition. Whoever stops a few minutes near this place may have abundant opportunities of seeing this operation performed: people of all ranks and ages may be observed ascending; and as it takes about three minutes to complete the task, it must be extremely disagreeable and fatiguing. They return by one of the lateral staircases, which, not having the same sanctity as the first, may be descended in the ordinary way. I never passed by the place without seeing some persons climbing on their knees, and generally a considerable number. To a Roman Catholic no doubt there is merit in the act itself; but there is also at the top a very sacred painting of our Saviour to attract his devotion, and to encourage him in the task, beside several relics of peculiar sanctity.^b As this picture claims to be a correct representation of our Saviour, it may be mentioned, that it is five feet eight inches high. It represents our Saviour at the age of twelve, and was begun to be painted

^b Of the relics preserved in the church, the most remarkable are, part of the cradle, of the vest without seam, of the barley-loaves and fishes, the table of the last supper, part of the purple robe, and of the reed with which Christ was smitten.

by St. Luke, but he found it miraculously finished for him.

On one of the sides of this building is a curious mosaic, preserved since the time of Leo III. or a little earlier: he commenced his reign in 795. In design, as might be expected, it is extremely rude; but it is valuable from its antiquity, and as proving in some degree, if we may argue from this art to that of painting, that in the ninth century the latter art must have been in some state of progress towards the perfection which it afterwards attained. We are not wholly without materials for tracing the history of painting through the darkest ages; and its existence seems never wholly to have ceased. Anastasius tells us, that Pope Symmachus ornamented St. Peter's with mosaics, and St. Paul's with paintings: he reigned from 498 to 514. We have mention of a painting of the Transfiguration, executed at Naples in the time of Justinian (527-65). So that under the Goths the art was not wholly extinct; and under their successors, the Lombards, we have still some traces of it. The same Anastasius mentions several churches being ornamented with mosaic-work in the seventh and eighth centuries. He also supplies us with more direct evidence as to painting; for, according to him, John VII. (705) had several pictures executed in the churches of Rome; Gregory III. (731) ornamented many churches in this manner; and he makes particular mention of a painting in the Lateran, in the time of Pope

Zacharias (741) and Paul I. (757.) Adrian I. (768) also employed painters, and he was the immediate predecessor of Leo III. in whose time the mosaic at the *Scala Santa* was executed. The portraits of the popes in St. Paul's are some of the oldest specimens of painting now existing in or near Rome; but, on a large scale, there is nothing so ancient as some frescos on the wall of a chapel, which stands on the left of the Appian Way. It is called by some a temple of Bacchus, and was dedicated by Urban VIII. to St. Urban I. Lanzi thinks them as old as 1011. There is a considerable degree of spirit in the designs.

This mosaic has also been cited, with a very different view, by the authors of *L'Art de verifier les Dates*,^c and Muratori.^d It represents our Saviour giving the keys to St. Peter with one hand, and with the other a standard to a crowned prince, bearing the inscription, Constantine V.; from which it has been argued, that the authority of the Greek emperors over Rome had not entirely ceased at that time. Constantine V. began his reign in 780.

The Egyptian Obelisk, which stands in front of this Basilica, and is the highest in Rome, has been already mentioned.

^c Tom. i. p. 262.

^d Annali d'Italia, an. 798.

S. MARIA MAGGIORE

is so called, because it was the largest church dedicated to the Virgin. It ranks third among the Basilicæ. It is also known by the name of S. Maria *ad Nives*, from a vision which Pope Liberius and John, Patrician of Rome, had of a miraculous fall of snow, which extended as far as the limits of the present church. This story is represented in one of the chapels.

Those who express disappointment at the front of St. Peter's, and object to the architecture of St. John Lateran, will probably be equally dissatisfied with S. Maria Maggiore. Without entering into a detail of the building, or repeating what perhaps has already been considered impertinent in an account of Roman edifices, I cannot help observing, that the whole effect produced by this church is by no means proportionate to the grandeur of its size and the labour of the execution. A building of these dimensions in stone must always command some degree of admiration; but the great difference between the simple architecture of ancient Greece, and the overloaded alterations introduced by modern Italy, is this, that the former does not always forcibly strike the eye at the first view, and sometimes even conveys an idea of heaviness; but every succeeding examination discloses new beauties; the eye is never weary with contemplating it, and a perfect recollection of its parts remains upon the memory.

The case is very different with such buildings as S. Maria Maggiore; at the first approach a great idea of grandeur is raised by such a prodigious edifice; the multitude of parts into which it is divided, and the variety of ornaments, furnish the eye with such a rapid succession of objects for a few minutes, that there is no room for any feeling but that of admiration; but this very abundance of ornaments soon destroys the effect which it had itself raised: for impressions to be lasting, there must be an unity and a distinctness in them; whatever distracts the attention, prevents the mind from enjoying pleasure; and whenever we have no definite idea of an object which we have seen, it is impossible that we can be anxious to repeat the contemplation of it. Few persons, who have made a single visit to Pæstum, would be unable to give a rough sketch of the temples: after residing some months in Rome, who could draw from memory the front of S. Maria Maggiore?

It was this which made me dissatisfied with this Basilica whenever I passed it, and deters me at present from attempting a description of its architecture. Whether the above remarks may be allowed to be just or no, a narrow brick tower, which rises above the whole, must by all be considered extremely ugly. I should imagine it to be a remnant of the former edifice; but as the whole has been built at various times, it is difficult to assign a date to any particular part. The

church is said to be as old as 352, the pontificate of Liberius, having been founded by John, Patriarch of Rome: but it has been restored and ornamented by several succeeding popes. Sextus III. rebuilt it in 432, and the form of the interior has probably continued the same ever since that time. Eugenius III. added the portico in front, A.D. 1150; and Gregory XIII. repaired it in 1575. Sextus V. and Paul V. contributed much towards the ornaments of the exterior.

The interior has three aisles, and along the middle one are thirty-six Ionic pillars of white marble, which have a beautiful effect. They are undoubtedly ancient, and perhaps came from the temple of Juno Lucina, which stood here. There is a good opportunity at Rome of viewing the three different orders of architecture in ancient columns appropriated to modern churches. In the one which we are now describing, we have the Ionic; at St. Paul's there is a double row of Corinthian pillars, unrivalled in beauty and proportion;^e and at S. Pietro in Vincoli, though the pillars of the nave are not in so perfect a state as in the two former, we are enabled to admire the simplicity of the Doric. At S. Maria Maggiore the roof will probably be considered as too low, and the effect produced by this double row of Ionic columns is diminished from this cause. The

^e Another series of Corinthian columns may be seen in the Church of Ara Celi, but very inferior in elegance to those of St. Paul's.

roof itself deserves to be mentioned, as being gilt, in 1500, with the first gold which came from Peru, and which was a present from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to the Pope. The mosaics which are over the pillars of the nave, and in the tribune, are as old as 434. Among the chapels, that of the Borghese family deserves to be examined for the richness of its decorations.

Over the altar of the Virgin is one of those numerous pictures, which is said to have been the work of St. Luke; and on the wall near to it may be read a pope's bull, declaring it to be the work of St. Luke *the Evangelist*. Notwithstanding this high authority, and the notion prevalent in Italy of St. Luke having been a painter as well as a physician, it is not now considered a matter of faith. It has been supposed by some who are very competent to judge, that the mistake arose from confounding a painter of the twelfth century, called Luca Santo, with the Evangelist. Lanzi, himself an ecclesiastic of high rank, who has so ably written the history of painting, asserts this as undeniable, and ridicules the absurdity of those who are credulous enough to hold the other opinion. Lanzi had perhaps never seen the pope's bull in Santa Maria Maggiore. Tiraboschi, however, without maintaining the professional talents of the Evangelist, seems clearly to prove, that the notion was prevalent as early as the eighth century.^f He might even have said the fifth. For

^f Tom. iii. part 2. lib. iv. p. 458.

we are told that Eudocia, the wife of the Emperor Theodosius II., sent from her exile at Jerusalem about the year 448 to Pulcheria, the Emperor's sister, a portrait of the Virgin, which was painted by St. Luke.^s So that the notion of Lanzi, however ingenious, cannot altogether account for the tradition, though it may explain the cause of its becoming more prevalent. Dodwell^h mentions an image of the Virgin at Megaspelia in Arcadia, which is said to have been made by St. Luke. He appears to mean a statue; so that the Evangelist was a sculptor as well as a painter. It is certain that the Gnostics in the second century had pictures and statues of our Saviour, which were said to be the work of Pontius Pilate:ⁱ and Eusebius asserts, that he had seen portraits of the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as of our Saviour himself.^k In the church of SS. Domenico and Sisto is another picture of the Virgin, also declared by papal authority to be the work of Luke the Evangelist. The popes are perhaps not infallible as connoisseurs. Montfaucon says,^l that there are seven paintings with these pretensions in Rome. Dupin and Tillemont, the French ecclesiastical historians, totally reject the notion: but Cave seems inclined to attach some credit to an inscription dug up near the Church of S. Maria

^s Theodor. Lector. Collectan. lib. i. init.

^h Travels in Greece. vol. ii. p. 450.

ⁱ Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 24.

^k Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 18.

^l Diar. Ital. p. 106.

in Via Lata, where were the words una e VII. a B. Luca Depictis. The academy of painting at Rome is called that of St. Luke, and was founded in 1478.

In front of this church is one of the handsomest Corinthian pillars any where to be seen. It came from the Temple of Peace in the Forum, and was placed here by Paul V. in 1513. It is of white marble, forty-seven feet high without the pedestal and capital. Not far from this is another little pillar of very mean architecture, surmounted by a cross, erected in memory of the absolution given by Clement VIII. to Henry IV. of France, in 1595, upon his conversion to the Romish religion. Henry IV. himself had the pillar erected, with this inscription on the principal part of it, *In hoc signo vinces*. This passed at first for very Catholic, until it was observed that the part, on which the inscription was placed, is shaped in the form of a cannon, and that he had really attributed to his artillery what they had taken to be addressed to heaven.^m

S. CROCE IN GIERUSALEMME,

though not the next Basilica in point of size, yet comes next in order, as being within the walls. A church was erected here by Constantine, and in his time this part of Rome was undoubtedly

^m Spence's Anecdotes, p. 90.

much more inhabited than it is at present. S. Croce now stands quite alone, with no buildings near it. That the case was different formerly is evident from the ruins close to it, one of which has been called the Sessorium, and the church from this cause is styled Basilica Sessoriana. It had its present name from a third part of the true cross being deposited here by Helena. There were also placed here two of the thorns, one of the thirty pieces of silver, the superscription, and part of the cross of the good thief. In the year 1492 a little chest was found in one of the walls, which contained the inscription: it was in red letters, and much decayed, HIESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDÆOR.² The church was also called *in Gierusalemme*, because some soil was brought from the holy-land at the same time, part of which was placed underneath the church, and part over the roof.

It was repaired by Gregory II. who reigned 715-31, when it is stated to have been without a roof, and in a great state of dilapidation. It was rebuilt by Lucius II. in 1144, and the facade was added by Benedict XIV. It is small, and in no respect deserving of much attention; nor should I have mentioned it at all, if it did not bear the rank of a Basilica. It was in this church that the Pope used to consecrate the golden rose, which

² Sozomen gives a particular account of the discovery of this inscription in the three languages at Jerusalem, lib. ii. c. 1.

he sent annually to some sovereign or other great person. This custom seems at first to have been a religious one, and is said by some to be as old as the fifth century. Urban V. was the first Pope who sent the rose as a mark of favour to a foreign sovereign.^o It was first presented to the Pope by the people of Rome on the 4th Sunday in Lent, and worn by him during the celebration of mass. Some relics preserved here are curious; such as, the finger, which Thomas thrust into our Saviour's side; part of the sponge, on which the vinegar was put; part of the vest without seam; part of the veil and hair of the Virgin Mary; some earth from Mount Calvary, stained by Christ's blood; part of the stone on which the angel stood when he saluted Mary; some of the manna; part of Aaron's rod, which budded; a tooth of St. Peter; part of the stone where Christ was born; and some bones of Thomas à Becket.

S. PAUL'S.^p

The three remaining Basilicæ are without the walls. That of St. Paul is much the finest, and would be among the handsomest of the Roman churches, if it were in better condition. Before

^o L'Enfant Hist. du Concile de Constance, p. 592-3.

^p I leave this description as it stood in the first edition. The Church of S. Paul has since been burnt to the ground: but some readers will perhaps wish to have the description of it preserved.

the Reformation the King of England was protector of it, as the Emperor is of St. Peter's, the King of France of St. John Lateran, and the King of Spain of S. Maria Maggiore. It is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile out of the Porta S. Paolo, and it is perhaps owing to its situation that it has been so much neglected. There was formerly a portico from the gate to the church, which is now entirely removed. Procopius mentions this portico and other buildings contiguous to the church, and says it was distant thirteen stadia from Rome. But the interior and exterior present a sad appearance of inattention, and in the midst of our admiration for such a magnificent structure, we are disgusted with the damp and dirt which disfigure it.

The first thing which struck me in approaching it was a series of Gothic windows in the side facing the city; the only instance of the kind which I had seen about Rome. These have already been mentioned, when it was stated, that they were an addition of the tenth century. I find mention of two periods, when the church underwent considerable repair. Leo III. who reigned from 795 to 816, restored the roof, which had been thrown down by an earthquake, and built the arch near the tribune. In 1138 Innocent II. surrounded it with strong walls, as the former ones were in a ruinous condition. In the interior there is no appearance of these windows, as they are completely blocked up, and those which give light to

the church are square, in the spaces between the pointed ones. The two exterior aisles are lower than the rest of the church, and evidently of a later date.

The Basilica itself is in point of antiquity one of the most curious in the neighbourhood of Rome. It was begun by Theodosius in 386, and finished by Honorius in 395: but there was a Basilica here before, built by Constantine. Baronius¹ quotes an original letter, as still existing, which Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius wrote to Sallustius, prefect of the city, exhorting him to enlarge the Church of St. Paul, which had been built by Constantine, but was confined in its dimensions by the road and the river. Some verses of Prudentius deserve to be inserted upon this subject. He lived in the reign of Honorius.

Parte alia titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis,
Qua stringit amnis cespitem sinistrum.
Regia pompa loci est. Princeps bonus has sacravit
arces,

Clausitque magnis ambitum talentis.
Bracteolas trabibus sublevit, ut omnis aurulenta
Lux esset intus, ceu jubar sub ortu.
Subdidit et Parias fulvis laquearibus columnas,
Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.
Tunc camurus hyalo insigni varie cucurrit arcus:
Sic prata vernis floribus reident.

Περὶ Στεφ. 12. 45.

¹ At the year 386.

The last couplet alludes to a mosaic over the arch of the nave, which is still to be seen. We can have no doubt, that this is the ancient edifice, or at least great part of it, from the circumstance of the pillars in the nave, which I shall shortly mention. The portico was erected by Benedict XIII. and the bronze gate in the middle was cast in 1070, at Constantinople. This front is not made use of at present as an entrance, and can with difficulty be seen. There are some curious mosaics over it.

The view of the interior would be magnificent beyond description, if it had not been so shamefully neglected. No church in Rome, except St. Peter's, exceeds it in dimensions, this being 260 feet long without the tribune, and 136 wide: and even St. Peter's can produce nothing equal to the forty Corinthian pillars on each side of the nave. They are not all of the same marble, and consequently not of equal beauty; but their heights accord, being fifty-two palms, and as age has made a great impression upon the colour of all of them, the difference is not apparent on a general view. Twenty-four of them are of the marble, called, from its variegated colour, Pavnazzo; the rest are of Parian marble. The principal quarry for the Pavnazzo or purple-spotted marble was near the city of Synnas, in Phrygia: and perhaps it is the same with what Pliny calls *Alabandicus*, from Alabanda in Caria, where it

was found, as well as at Miletus.^r He calls it black, or rather approaching to purple, and adds that it could be liquified by fire and run into glass. The variegated marble of Synnas is mentioned by several ancient writers;^s but the most detailed account of the quarries is to be found in Strabo,^t who informs us, that *Synnadic* was a name given to the marble by the Romans, whereas the natives called it *Docimites* or *Docimæan*, from Docimia, a neighbouring village: "At first the quarry produced only small pieces: but from the expensive taste of the Romans in the present day, large pillars of a single block are dug out: they resemble the marble called *Alabastrites*" in their variegation: and notwithstanding the difficulty of conveying such burthens to the sea, columns and slabs of astonishing size and beauty are transported to Rome." There seems to have been similar quarries in the Isle of Scyros.^x

It is generally said, that the pillars in the Basilica of S. Paul, were taken from some more ancient building: (vide p. 296.) and it is not

^r Lib. xxxv. c. 13.

^s Ib. c. 1. Martial, lib. ix. ep. 77. Tibull. lib. iii. el. 3. 13. Claudian. in Eutrop. 2. 272. Prudent. c. Sym. 2. 247.

^t Lib. xii.

^u I have conjectured at vol. i. p. 250, that this is what we now call *Giallo Antico*, and the form of the spots is the same in the Pavonazzo.

^x Strabo, lib. ix.

improbable that they came from the villa of Gordian, which stood in the Via Prænestina, and contained fifty columns of this marble.⁷ Others think that they came from the Basilica Æmilia in the Forum. But the verses quoted above from Prudentius prove their removal to have taken place when the church was built, and not at any subsequent period; for he distinctly mentions four rows of columns, and he was contemporary with the founder. It is perhaps worthy of remark, that both Prudentius and Claudian, who lived at the time of this church being built, speak of the beauty of the Synnadic marble. I should not hesitate to pronounce these the finest assemblage of columns which Italy can boast. The interior is divided into five aisles, which contain in all eighty pillars, and the whole number, which the church contains, is said to be 138, most of which are ancient.

The pavement contains several fragments of ancient inscriptions; but it has evidently been taken up at some time or other, and put down in an irregular manner, without regard to the former position of the stones. This must have been since the time of Sextus V., for the architects employed by him to build St. Peter's, Giacomo della Porta and Fontana, made use of the floor of this church to draw their designs for the cupola, there being no other place so convenient

⁷ J. Capitol. Gordian. 32.

for tracing so vast a work. The antiquaries of the present day say, that it was Michel Angelo who made this use of the floor, in order to give the people of Rome an idea of his plan; but as it is Fontana himself who gives the accounts which have been stated above,² there can be little doubt that the dates and persons have been confounded. Several curved lines are still to be seen upon the stones, but so broken, and interrupted by a subsequent alteration in their position, that little or nothing can be traced of the general design. Over the arch of the nave is a mosaic as old as 440.

Upon the top of the pillars are portraits of the popes from St. Peter to Pius VII.¹ Though we may not agree with the Catholics as to the authenticity of the earliest of this series, yet as being nearly the oldest paintings extant, (I mean with reference to the middle ages,) and as preserving likenesses of most if not all the popes since the fifth century, they certainly may be considered valuable. Leo I. who began his reign in 461, commenced the series, and had all his predecessors up to his own time painted. These I am afraid we must allow to have been works of imagination; but it is reasonable to suppose, that

¹ Lib. v. c. 16.

² The Cathedral of Sienna possesses a similar series of portraits: and there are twenty-eight portraits of popes who have been canonized, in the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican.

after his time they would be continued by each pontiff; though as it is stated, that S. Symmachus in 514, and Benedict XIV. in 1740, continued the work, there may have been occasional interruptions. Perhaps they only restored the paintings, which had suffered from time. Many of them are now in a wretched condition, and almost entirely defaced. It is singular, that with the predecessor of the present pope the series had in a manner terminated, as it had gone all round the church, and the place appointed for Pius VI. was immediately next to that of S. Peter. It was a saying at Rome, in consequence of this circumstance, that they were to have no more popes: a prediction which seemed at one time very likely to be accomplished. Pius VII. has however recovered the pontifical throne, and having placed his own portrait under that of St. Peter, he has commenced a new series, which may be continued to the same length as the former.

It is perhaps not generally known, that the Roman Catholics possess in anticipation a list of all the popes who are to reign till the end of the world. A countryman of our own has the merit of having drawn up this prophetic catalogue. St. Malachy was born at Armagh in 1094, and became archbishop of that see in 1127: he resigned his honours in 1135, and after working many miracles, he died in 1148 at Clairvaux in France. It may be remarked, that he was the

first saint regularly canonized by the Romish Church.^b Among other proofs of his supernatural powers, he left a list of all the popes from Celestin II. 1143, to the end of time. The fact is now pretty well ascertained, that this was an invention of the cardinals assembled in conclave to elect a pope upon the death of Urban VII. in 1590. The partisans of Cardinal Simoncelli, afterwards Gregory XIV. brought forward this list as a prophecy of St. Malachy; and the words which were considered indicative of his election were, "de Antiquitate Urbis," the cardinal being a native of Orvieto, the Latin name of which was *Urbs Vetus*. No mention is made of the existence of such a prophecy till 1600, when it was published by Arnold de Wyon, a Benedictine of Douay: and if we look to each prediction and its completion before the time of Gregory XIV. we shall see very clearly, that the framers of it went upon good historical grounds; but after his time the application of the prophecies is extremely forced. To make this clear, I will give the three popes who succeeded each other immediately after the death of St. Malachy, and then the three who followed Gregory XIV.

^b It was not till the twelfth century that the right of canonization was vested in the pope alone: before which time provincial councils, and even bishops, had conferred this honour. Alexander III. deprived them of this privilege.

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|------------------------------|---------------|---|
| 1143. Ex castris Tiberis. | Celestin II. | Born at a castle on the Tiber. |
| 1144. Inimicus expulsus. | Lucius II. | Of the family of Caccianemici in Bologna. |
| 1145. Ex magnitudine montis. | Eugenius III. | Of Grandimont near Pisa. |

In these cases the agreement is very evident: but in the three cases which immediately follow Gregory XIV. there is a striking difference.

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| 1591. Pia Civitas in Bello. | Innocent IX. | A native of Bologna. |
| 1592. Crux Romulea. | Clement VIII. | Of the Aldobrandini family, said to be descended from the first Roman Christian: they bear a crossed branch in their arms. |
| 1605. Undosus Vir. | Leo XI. | He was tossed, as a wave, only reigning 26 days. |

The last pope, Pius VI. had the symbol *Peregrinus Apostolicus*, which of course was accomplished by his journey to Vienna. His holiness now reigning^b is designated by *Aquila rapax*; and though his own character would deserve a much

^b The reader will remember that this was written, when Pius VII. was Pope.

more amiable description, yet the rapacity of the French Eagle has certainly made his history singular among that of all the successors of St. Peter; and it is well if the rapacity of the double eagle of Austria does not make it more so. It is interesting to know, that our countryman did not anticipate more than fourteen popes from the present time, who are predicted under the following emblems:

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|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Canis et Coluber. | 8. Fides intrepida. |
| 2. Vir Religiosus. | 9. Pastor Angelicus. |
| 3. De Balneis Hetruriæ. | 10. Pastor et Nauta. |
| 4. Crux de Cruce. | 11. Flos Florum. |
| 5. Lumen in cœlo. | 12. De medietate Lunæ. |
| 6. Ignis Ardens. | 13. De Labore Solis. |
| 7. Religio depopulata. | 14. De Gloria Olivæ. |

The concluding words of the prophecy are these:
 “ In the last persecution of the holy Roman
 “ Church, Peter of Rome shall be on the throne,
 “ who shall feed his flock in many tribulations.
 “ When these are past, the city upon seven hills
 “ shall be destroyed, and the awful Judge shall
 “ judge the people.”^c

Under the high altar is preserved the body of St. Paul, which Constantine inclosed in a case of brass, as he had done that of St. Peter. It is generally supposed that he suffered martyrdom in the year 65. Eusebius and Sulpitius Severus say that he was beheaded; and the former appeals

^c A treatise has been written upon this prophetic catalogue by Menestrier.

to a constant tradition that he was buried on the road to Ostia.^d Platina informs us that his body was removed from the cemetery at the Vatican to this place, about the year 251, when Cornelius was pope. It may be observed, that the ornaments of this altar are in the Gothic style.

A convent is annexed to the church; and though the cloisters present a sad spectacle of dirt and neglect, they deserve to be examined for their architecture, and several curious inscriptions preserved upon the walls. I shall only copy one of them, without pretending to decide as to its genuineness; but by the account of its discovery, which is annexed, it would seem that some had believed it to be authentic; and it illustrates a passage in Suetonius, which I shall also produce. The inscription is this:

Hoc specus excepit post aurea tecta Neronem,
Nam vivum inferius se sepelire timet :

and under it is written, "Invent. prope Anienem, "inter Vias Salariam et Nomentanam." Suetonius tells us,^e that when the emperor was forced to fly from his palace, Phaon, one of his freedmen, invited him to his garden, about four miles from Rome, between the Salarian and Nomentan roads, and advised him to hide himself in a cave, from which sand had been dug; but Nero replied, that

^d Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 25.

^e Nero, c. xlviii. Eutropius agrees as to the distance and situation of the cave, lib. vii. c. 15.

he would not be buried alive. A place which answers this description has gone by the name of Cisterna Neronis, and is mentioned particularly by Rodevicus *de Gestis Frederici II.*

S. LORENZO.

About a mile beyond the gate of S. Lorenzo, on the road to Tivoli, is the Basilica which bears this name. Constantine, to whom so many churches are ascribed in Rome, is said also to have erected this in 330. It has also been restored by several popes, and finally in 1647; so that it is difficult to say how much of the original edifice remains: Great part of it is however undoubtedly ancient; and if it be true that there was a temple of Neptune here, I should be inclined to ascribe these remains to a period much older than that of Constantine, and to suppose, that instead of building a new church, he consecrated a Pagan temple.

The portico consists of six antique Ionic pillars, four of which are twisted. These bespeak a taste much inferior to that of the pillars in the body of the church. There are some paintings in this portico of the thirteenth century, executed in the time of Honorius III. and representing among other subjects, the Coronation of Peter Courtenay, as Emperor of the East, by that pope in 1216. The tribune is raised above the rest; and it is this part which I should think the oldest;

it contains twelve pillars different from all the others, and for a considerable height above their bases they are buried in the ground. One of them has been dug round to show the height of the column. There are in all twenty-two pillars, dividing the church into three aisles. Many of these pillars certainly came from other buildings, because their capitals and diameters are different. Winkelmann^f thinks that he can trace one of them to the Portico of Octavia, and his observation is certainly ingenious. It is built upon a passage in Pliny,^g where he tells us, that Saurus and Batrachus, two architects of Sparta, built the Portico of Metellus, afterwards that of Octavia, and not venturing to put their names upon it, they carved a lizard and a frog in the volutes of the columns. Winkelmann has observed these very emblems in the volutes of one^h of these Ionic columns; which seems very nearly to demonstrate his conjecture, or at least to prove them to have been carved by the artists mentioned by Pliny. Nibby brings another proof of this church having been built out of the spoils of the Portico of Octavia. The frieze over the pillars formerly contained bas-reliefs of several subjects, which are now preserved in the Capitol: and since Augustus erected the Portico after his victory at Actium, it is probable that the decorations would

^f Vol. ii. p. 589.

^g Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

^h It is the eighth of those which support the roof, on the right hand.

bear some allusion to this triumph. On the capitals of two other pillars may be observed victories at each corner, with trophies between them.

In the nave are two marble pulpits, or *ambones*, which are only to be seen in the oldest churches of Rome. These ambones are placed on each side of the nave, and from that on the south side the Epistle was read, from the other the Gospel: which order of reading is still observed in our own churches, when two clergymen officiate at the communion table. Anciently the custom seems to have been for there only to be one ambo, in which were two steps: from the higher one the Gospel was read; from the lower one the Epistle.ⁱ Beside the *ambones* in this church, two are to be seen in St. Clement's, St. Pancrazio, and S. Maria in Cosmedin. In Italy the different sides of the church are frequently expressed by this distinction; and instead of speaking of the south or north side, they say the Epistle or the Gospel side. Indeed the other mode of distinguishing them could not always be used at Rome, from the circumstance already mentioned of the churches not always standing east and west.

Some paintings may be seen in this church as old as the thirteenth century. Under the high altar are preserved the bodies of St. Stephen and St. Laurence.^k There are also other relics, such

ⁱ Vid. Ducange, who derives the word from ἀναβιβας.

^k Theodore Lector tells us, that the remains of St. Stephen

as part of our Saviour's tomb; part of the clothes and of the tomb of the Virgin Mary; and one of the stones with which St. Stephen was stoned.

The history of St. Laurence is as well attested as that of any of the martyrs, and perhaps we may be more inclined to believe it, because little or nothing is related of his actions before the time of his suffering. St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Isidore, Prudentius, &c. speak of him. He was a native of Osca in Arragon, and went young to Rome. Sextus II. made him an archdeacon; and when that pope was being led to his martyrdom, he enjoined Laurence to distribute his possessions to the Christians. Being ordered to produce these treasures, he refused; and after being suspended from the ground, and having plates of hot iron applied to him, he was placed upon a gridiron over a slow fire, which broiled him to death. This happened on the 10th of August, 256; and the scene of it is laid in the Baths of Olympias, where was afterwards built the Church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, or in Pane e Perna. This is a little to the west of S. Maria Maggiore; and the name of it is derived from Perpenna Quadratianus, who restored the Baths of Constantine. Part of the gridiron is said to be preserved in this church. The histo-

and St. Laurence were placed in the Church of St. Laurence, in the reign of the younger Theodosius; and he seems certainly to be speaking of Constantinople (ii. 64).

ries add, that St. Laurence was buried in some ground belonging to Cyriaca, a widow, who lived on the road to Tibur.

S. SEBASTIAN.

The Basilica of S. Sebastian, about two miles out of the gate of that name, is remarkable for nothing but its antiquity and the Catacombs. The father of S. Sebastian is said to have been a native of Narbonne, and his mother of Milan. He was tribune of the guard under Diocletian, and converted many to Christianity. That emperor, however, sentenced him to be shot with arrows, as is represented in so many pictures. He recovered from these wounds; but venturing afterwards to reprove the emperor for his crimes, he was beaten to death.

The present church is not older than 1611. Over the three doors are paintings by A. Caracci. The Catacombs, or cemetery of S. Calixtus, are under this church, and extend a considerable way. My guide was positive that they reach as far as Ostia, a distance of sixteen miles. This and many other stories told of these Catacombs throw an air of suspicion over their history, and make us inclined to disbelieve the traditions concerning them. When it is asserted that fourteen popes and 170,000 Christian martyrs were buried here, we may reasonably ask, how the numbers or the proprietors of the bones were ascertained

with such accuracy? But this should not make us doubt the story altogether, of the Christians having first retired into these caves as a place of refuge, and having subsequently used them as cemeteries. The origin of the Catacombs here and at Naples was most probably the same with those at Paris, which were undoubtedly excavations for the purpose of procuring stone.¹ The material here is much softer than the freestone of Paris, and supplied the ancient Romans with the earth called *Puzzolana*. Hence the excavations were called *Arenariæ*, or sand-pits. Cicero^m mentions some not far from the Esquiline gate, which may have been these; and in his defence of Milo,ⁿ when he speaks of a spot on the Appian road which was "a hiding place, and receptacle for thieves," he perhaps alluded to these Catacombs. The *Puzzolana*, which is so abundantly diffused over the neighbourhood of Rome, is generally said to be of volcanic origin, and is used very largely for making cement. It was known to the ancients, and was called *Pulvis Puteolanus*, from the circumstance of its being found in great quantities near Puteoli (Pozzuoli).

¹ There are subterraneous quarries of the same kind at Marsala in Sicily, (the ancient Lilybæum,) Syracuse, Salerno, Malta, Maestricht, &c.: and perhaps the celebrated Labyrinth in the island of Crete was formed originally by excavations of this kind. The country is stated to be full of sandstone. See Walpole's Travels, vol. ii. p. 407.

^m Pro Cluent. c. 13.

ⁿ C. 19.

Vitruvius mentions it;^o and it seems to be his opinion, as it is that of the moderns, that the same cause which produces volcanoes is instrumental in forming this earth.^p There are two kinds of it, black and red; only the black is found near Naples, but both sorts exist in the neighbourhood of Rome; and they do not occur in any other parts of Italy. The place called *Saxa Rubra* by the ancients,^q took its name from a rock of this earth, which may still be seen about nine miles from Rome, near to *Prima Porta*. Some beds of it have been explored eighty palms deep, and new discoveries are constantly being made of ancient excavations. The *Puzzolana* makes the best cement known, and it has the

• Lib. ii. c. 6.

^p We may quote Vitruvius, as preserving the tradition of Vesuvius having exploded in remote times; whereas some have asserted, that the great eruption in the time of Titus was the first. Strabo also, lib. v. refers to former eruptions. Plutarch alludes to the recent eruption of a mountain near *Cumæ and Puzzuoli*, which had entirely destroyed and obliterated many cities (Cur Pythia, &c. p. 398, E.). This would hardly seem to be the eruption in the reign of Titus. It is singular that Florus, who lived in the time of Trajan, mentions Herculaneum and Pompeii among the maritime towns of Campania; from which it might be thought, that they were not totally overwhelmed in the reign of Titus (lib. i. c. 16). They had suffered from an earthquake previous to that eruption, (Sen. Nat. Quæst. lib. vi.)

^q Liv. ii. c. 49. Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 79. Cicero, Philip. ii. 31. Aur. Victor, Constantin.

property of hardening under water. In fact, it becomes as hard as the stone itself, if not harder.^r

There seems sufficient evidence to induce us to believe that these subterraneous excavations were used by the Christians to hide themselves in from their persecutors. Eusebius,^s speaking of the persecutions in Egypt in the reign of *Valerian*, represents the governor *Æmilianus* as saying, that the Christians should not be allowed to hold meetings, nor to enter the places they called Cemeteries. He mentions,^t also, the same prohibition as being ordered by *Maximinus*. The Cemetery of which we are now speaking goes by the name of that of *Calixtus*, it being constructed by that pope, as we learn from his biographer *Anastasius*. The same historian relates, that *St. Fabian* ordered many buildings to be constructed in the Cemeteries; and we know from *Cyprian*,^u that *Xystus* suffered martyrdom in one of them. The Christians appear never to have adopted the Roman custom of burning the dead:^x *Macrobius* indeed tells us,^y that in his time (i.e. at the end of the fourth century) the custom of burning the

^r Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. c. 20.

^s Lib. vii. c. 11; where he quotes the words of *Dionysius*, Bishop of Alexandria.

^t Lib. ix. c. 2. See the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. vi. c. 30. *Origen*, in *Jerom. Hom. iv. § 3. Acta S. Cypriani*, 1.

^u Epist. 82.

^x Vide *Tertull. de Corona*, 11. *Minucius Felix*, p. 97.

^y *Saturn. lib. vii. c. 7.*

dead was entirely left off; and as burial within the walls was prohibited, they naturally had recourse to those places which had served as a retreat and refuge for the living. For we have evidence, that the bodies of Christians were sometimes disturbed and disinterred by their heathen enemies. This custom conferred an additional sanctity upon the Catacombs; and the religious veneration paid to relics is to be traced to this necessity of the living and the dead being brought so closely into contact.

Jerom, in his Commentary upon Ezekiel,^a tells us, that while he was pursuing his studies at Rome, he was accustomed to go on Sundays, with others of the same age and pursuits, to visit the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs. They frequently entered the Crypts, which were dug deep in the earth, and had on each side the bodies of the dead laid in the walls, and there was seldom any light admitted from above to mitigate the gloomy horror of the place. When Christianity became the established religion, the bodies of the martyrs came to be removed into more dignified places; and hence arose the custom of burying within the walls of churches.^a Baronius mentions^b the Cemetery of Priscilla being discovered

^a C. 40.

^a A description of these Cemeteries may be seen in Prudentius Hymn. xi. 153.

^b Ad. An. 130.

in his time near the Via Latina; and his description may be applied to all the rest. He says, "It was quite a subterranean city; at the entrance was a principal street wider than the rest, and on each side were several other streets, which again branched off into lanes and alleys. There were *fora*, as in cities, and more open spaces for religious meetings, which were ornamented with pictures of saints and apertures for light."^c Perhaps we may also deduce from these Cemeteries the custom of having Crypts, or subterraneous churches, under the others. In these places near Rome, and wherever the early martyrs had suffered, it was very natural that places of worship should afterwards be erected over them: and other countries perhaps adopted the same form, and ascribed a peculiar sanctity to the lower church, in which their own dead were deposited. It is particularly mentioned in an edict of Constantine, that the places where the martyrs were buried should be considered the property of the churches.^d And in the time of Athanasius, the custom was still preserved of praying in the Cemeteries:^e so that the church and churchyard have been locally connected from the earliest times.

^c A subterraneous town of this description may be seen at Syracuse, called Grotta di S. Giovanni. These Catacombs are much more striking than those of Rome or Naples.

^d Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. ii. c. 40.

^e Socrates, lib. ii. c. 28. Theodorit. lib. ii. c. 14. Consil. Elib. Can. 35.

That these Catacombs were used as burial-places, we may prove by the evidence of our own eyes. The earth has been cut into a variety of tombs, and several bones have been found. There is also great proof that service was performed here by those unhappy men, who were prohibited the open profession of their religion in the face of day: and it appears from Athanasius, that even after the conversion of Constantine, and when there were many churches in Alexandria, it was still customary on some occasions to have meetings for prayer in the cemeteries.^f In the Catacombs at Naples some paintings may be traced which ornamented the chapels. I do not know what particular means the Roman Catholics possess of ascertaining the name of any saint discovered here, nor whether Sebastian was or was not among the sufferers: but we may pardon a little superstition in others, and indulge a little veneration ourselves for that spot, which preserved the early professors of our religion, and perhaps our religion itself, from destruction; and in treading the ground which was stained by their blood, and which preserves their remains even to our own days, we may surely cherish their memory without a crime; and while we grieve for those who would pay them religious adoration, we may perhaps feel a little compunction at the coldness

^f Vol. i. p. 312. 323.

of our own faith, and animate our devotion by their example.

In the church is shown the measure of our Saviour's two feet upon a stone, the history of which is connected with the little church called *Domine, quo vadis?*^s between this Basilica and the city. It is said, that St. Peter, being on his way from Rome to escape the persecution of Nero, met our Saviour at that spot, and addressed him in these words, *Domine, quo vadis?* Lord, whither art thou going? From which circumstance a church was built with that name; and the outline of our Saviour's feet, as he stood there, being taken, has been preserved ever since in this Basilica.

With respect to the other churches, which rank after the seven Basilicæ, it is by no means my intention to write an itinerary of Rome, nor to notice every object which would interest a stranger. I wish only to detail those points which are more peculiarly worthy of his observation, and particularly where any thing in their history is curious and entertaining. Many churches command admiration from the splendour of their decorations, but I shall not take up the reader's time in describing these; nor must a catalogue of the paintings and statues, which are to be found in them,

^s It is also called S. Maria delle Palme, or Piante, and was repaired by Cardinal Pole.

be expected from me. Some of the works of art I shall occasionally notice, but not merely to expatiate upon their beauties. Having premised these remarks, I shall proceed to select some of the churches, which may be considered interesting from their antiquity or the objects contained in them.

It is perhaps impossible to say which is the oldest church in Rome. That the Christians had places of worship very early within the city, seems clearly proved; and a century before the time of Constantine, Calixtus I. is said by his biographer Anastasius to have built a Basilica to the Virgin, during the reign of Severus. These places of worship would of course be more or less public, according as the emperors were inclined to persecution or toleration: but Eusebius plainly tells us, that before Diocletian's persecution spacious and handsome churches had been erected in every city; most or all of which were totally destroyed in the reign of Diocletian. We have something like positive evidence, that in the reign of this Emperor there were upwards of forty churches in Rome:^b and the number seems to have been the same fifty years before.ⁱ Those which had been destroyed in the persecution of

^b Optatus, lib. ii. (He lived in the fourth century.)

ⁱ Cornelius, Papa, apud Euseb. H. E. lib. vi. c. 43: he says, there are forty-six Presbyters in Rome.

Diocletian were rebuilt in the time of Constantine on a larger scale.^k

If, in describing the churches of Rome, we should proceed in the order of their age, those should be mentioned first, which are actually ancient buildings converted into churches. Of these St. Theodore would claim our first attention, if we believe the story, that it is the temple erected by Tatius to Romulus. This church stands at the southern extremity of the Forum, under the Palatine Hill, is of a round form; and the brazen wolf, which is now in the Capitol, was certainly preserved here till the sixteenth century. But this last fact, though much insisted on by Venuti, and perhaps sufficient to prove it of considerable antiquity, is surely of no authority to demonstrate this to be the original building. Dionysius informs us, that there was a temple of Romulus near this place, in which there was an ancient sculpture of a wolf of bronze. The roof is unquestionably modern, nor is there any thing to a common eye which bespeaks peculiar antiquity. In Spence's *Anecdotes*^l we may find another argument in favour of its ancient date: he says, that the Roman matrons of old used to carry their children when ill to the temple of Romulus;

^k Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. viii. c. 1, 2, lib. x. c. 3. Theodorit. lib. v. c. 39.

^l P. 89. So also Middleton, *Letter from Rome*.

and the women still carry their children to S. Theodore on the same occasions. He adds, that the priests very wisely pray, that he would be so good as either to cure, or to take them to himself. The former part of the story is confirmed by Pancirolli. Nibby supposes it to have been the temple of Vesta. The interior is perfectly plain. On the outside by the door is an old altar, on which an inscription says, that profane incense once burned. It is not known when it was converted into a church; Adrian I. in 774 repaired it; and it is said by Platina, that Nicolas V. entirely rebuilt it in 1450.

The front of S. Adriano in the Forum is ancient, and said to have been part of the Basilica Æmilia. This was erected by Æmilius Lepidus in the time of Augustus, and in the space of thirty-five years was twice rebuilt or considerably repaired. There are good reasons for thinking that the Basilica stood near this spot: but Nibby supposes the front of S. Adriano, which is of brick, to be later by some centuries. The Basilica is known to have been ornamented with Phrygian columns,^m and it has been conjectured, that these may still be seen in S. Paul's. The ancient bronze door, which formed the entrance to this church, was removed to the Lateran by Alexander VII. S. Lorenzo in Miranda, at the north-east angle of the Forum, was formerly the temple of Antoninus

^m Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 15. P. Victor, Reg. 8.

and Faustina. S. Bernardo was one of the round buildings which formed the four corners of the Baths of Diocletian. The Certosa, or S. Maria degli Angioli, also belonged to the same baths. S. Cosmo and Damiano near the Forum preserves as a vestibule the ancient temple of Remus.

These and other churches should be mentioned first, if we adhered strictly to the order of time; but many of them come more properly under the head of antiquities; and when I speak of the earliest Christian churches as being interesting objects, I speak with reference to early Christian customs, and not to the other antiquities, which they have accidentally been the means of preserving.

In the road from the Colosseum to the Lateran may be seen one of the oldest churches in Rome, S. Clement, and according to an inscription in it, the only one which preserves the form of the ancient Basilica. Many, however, are very like it, except that in this there is an inclosure of marble round the altar, (imitated from the *Cella* of the Pagan temples,) and two marble *ambones* or pulpits. In other respects it is much the same with all the old churches in Rome; that is, it is divided into three aisles, and has a semicircular tribune or recess behind the altar. Sixteen pillars of different marbles seem all to have been taken from some ancient building. On the stone over the principal entrance (but not that which is commonly used from the street) in the inside is

SAR. DIVI. NERVAE. FIL. The tessellated pavement also seems extremely ancient. The frescos by Masaccio, (who died in 1443,) in the Chapel della Passione, are considered valuable as specimens of the art in that early age. They have lately been retouched, which was perhaps necessary to make them at all discernible, but has considerably destroyed the interest raised by them. Tradition says, that the house of Clement, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul,^a and third pope, was on this spot: his body also is said to repose under the altar, having been brought from Pontus in the Pontificate of Nicolas I.^o Whether he suffered martyrdom is not certain. The fact is not mentioned by Irenæus; and Rufinus and Pope Zosimus, who place him in the catalogue, lived in the fifth century. He has however a place in the calendar, and his day is observed on the 23d of November. According to some accounts he was pope for nine years and a half, beginning from the year 67: but Pearson makes him to have reigned from 68 to 83, and Dodwell from 65 to 81. Wall places him considerably later. There are also disputes whether he succeeded immedi-

^a Vide Phil. iv. 3. Wall in his History of Infant Baptism thinks that the Clement mentioned by S. Paul, was not the same with the Bishop of Rome: though Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 12.) Epiphanius, and Jerome, (De Script. Eccl. v. Clemens,) expressly say that he was.

• Platina.

ately to Linus, the first Bishop of Rome, or whether Cletus or Anacletus was interposed between them. The latter opinion seems preferable. Gregory of Tours relates many stories of his life, which are evidently false.^p

Another very good specimen of the ancient church may be seen in S. Maria in Cosmedin. It is also called S. M. a Scuola Greca, because a school for teaching the Greek language was formerly kept here. Pancirolli derives its other name of Cosmedin from the same circumstance, as if it implied the *good order* which was preserved there. Others deduce it from the *ornaments*, which were added to it by Adrian I. but neither of these etymologies will probably give much satisfaction. It was built by S. Dionysius, who was pope in 261. Stephen II. in 752, first established some Greeks here, who were driven from the east by Constantine Copronimus for worshipping images and saints. Adrian I. and Nicolas I. added much to it.

It has still another name, *Bocca della Verità*, from an old stone placed near the entrance, in the middle of which is a mouth. This was anciently used as a kind of ordeal: the suspected

^p The Apocryphal Work, entitled *Recognitiones S. Clementis*, contains some anecdotes of his family, which is said to have been allied to that of Domitian, lib. vii. c. 8, &c. The *Epitome de Gestis S. Petri*, makes him to have been banished to near Pontus, and to have been drowned there.

person put his hand into the mouth, and if he was able to draw it out again, he was innocent. The stone is ancient, and according to Fabretti belonged to a figure of the Nile. Others consider it to have served as the mouth of some fountain. Mr. Blunt conceives this name of the church to be derived from the ancient custom of persons swearing at the *Ara Maxima*, which was erected by Hercules near this spot.⁹ The church is said to stand upon the site of a temple to *Pudicitia Patricia*. By ascending a staircase some fine capitals may be seen of ancient columns, which were retained in the present building, but completely inclosed in masonry.

The Church of Ara Celi deserves particular mention, from the venerable appearance of the building itself, and from the edifice to which it has succeeded. The Temple of Jupiter Fere-trius, built by Romulus, is supposed to have stood on the site of this church. It was here that the *Spolia Opima* were deposited. Not a vestige remains of this temple, except some of the foundations, which cannot easily be distinguished from those of other buildings, and perhaps some of the internal ornaments were appropriated to the modern edifice. Pancirolli explains the origin of the name of Ara Celi, but his explanation has something of the fabulous in it. He tells us, that Augustus, having asked of the oracle at Delphi

⁹ Manners and Customs of Italy and Sicily, p. 93.

who would succeed him in the empire, received this answer:

Me Puer Hebræis Divos Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede jubet tristemque redire sub Orcum;
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus abscedito nostris.

Augustus in consequence raised an altar on this hill, with the inscription *Ara primogenito Dei*. We may observe of this story, that it was forged since the time of Eusebius, who certainly had heard nothing of it. He tells us, that neither Apollo nor any other God had foresight enough to predict their own overthrow, and the blow which would be given to their worship by the coming of Christ.^r Tradition has however preserved the memory of the precise spot, and placed it not far from the present high altar. Anacletus, in 1130, (though he was antipope,) surrounded it with four pillars; and in 1603 it was farther ornamented, from whence this chapel got the name of Ara Celi. The ascent to the church is by a flight of 124 marble steps, constructed in 1348 by the alms of the faithful after the great plague, which Boccaccio has so well described as afflicting Florence in that year. The cost was 5,000 florins. Pancirolli says, that they were placed here by a Senator of the name of Ottone of Milan, who used the marble from an ancient temple of Romulus, near the Porta Salara. Some devout persons ascend these steps on their knees, like those

^r Euseb. de Laud. Constant. p. 738, Ed. Reading.

of the Scala Santa at the Lateran; and it is singular that Cæsar and Claudius are both recorded to have mounted to the Capitol on their knees, when going to return thanks in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.* On the left of this ascent are to be seen the foundations already mentioned, part of which was destroyed in 1819, in preparation for a fete given to the Emperor of Austria.

The date of this church does not seem accurately known, but it is evidently extremely old, and wholly devoid of elegance or ornament on the outside. The interior is exceedingly curious, and presents little else but an assemblage of fragments from various ancient edifices. The floor is one mass of mosaic, apparently of the rarest antique stones, and become exceedingly uneven from age. The roof was gilded after the defeat of the Turks at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. The nave contains twenty-two pillars, uniform only in their antiquity. Some are of granite, others of different materials, and the capitals, which have been gilt, by no means correspond. On one of them is this inscription, A CVBICVLO AVGVSTORVM. It was in this church, that Gibbon represents himself as having first conceived the idea of writing his Roman History.

S. Pietro in Vincoli is very old; at least part of it is so. Tradition makes it to have been founded by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Valen-

* Dio, lib. xliii.

tinian, as stated below. An inscription in this church states it to have been repaired by S. Pelagius in 555. There is a mosaic of S. Sebastian in one of the side aisles, which was executed in the seventh century. In the year 680 Pope Agatho made use of this mosaic to avert a dreadful pestilence, which had raged in Rome for three months.^t It is remarkable, that the face of the saint is here represented as that of an old man, contrary to the usual paintings. The pillars of the nave are ancient, and of the Doric order, but not very fine specimens of that simple style. This church has its name from the chain being preserved here with which St. Peter was bound at Jerusalem. It was sent from thence to Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, by her mother Eudocia, who delivered it to Pope Leò; and soon by a special miracle it united itself to another chain, which had bound the apostle at Rome.^u Eudoxia in consequence founded this church. Strangers will find it in vain to ask for a sight of this precious relic.

The chief object of attraction here is the statue of Moses, by Michel Angelo, which some have exalted as the chef-d'œuvre of that great sculptor, while others have abused and ridiculed it. It forms part of the tomb erected to Julius II. This pontiff invited M. Angelo to Rome soon after his

^t Baronius, ad an. 680.

^u The Church of S. Cecilia lays claim to the possession of seven rings of S. Peter's chain.

succession in 1503. For some months the great sculptor employed himself in meditating the plan; without taking the chisel into his hands; and when at length he submitted the magnificent design to the Pope, he approved of it beyond measure, and is said to have been instigated by the grandeur of it to undertake the rebuilding of St. Peter's. The plan was a parallelogram, which was to have been surmounted by as many as forty statues, together with bas-reliefs in bronze, and other ornaments. The impatient temper of Julius was provoked at the delay, which so vast a work necessarily caused; and Michel Angelo finding the Pope become colder towards him, and not having the money or materials supplied so liberally as he wished, abruptly left the work, and went to Florence. The Pope was now really mortified, and even sent three letters to the Magistrates of Florence, requesting them to pacify M. Angelo, and induce him to return. The first letter, dated July 8th, 1506, is still extant,* and is as follows:

“ Julius P. P. II. Dilectis filiis Prioribus Libertatis, et Vexillifero Justitiæ populi Florentini.

“ Dilecti filii, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Michael Angelus Scultor, qui a nobis leviter et inconsulte decessit, redire, ut accepimus, ad nos timet, cui nos non succensemus; novimus hujusmodi hominum ingenia. Ut tamen

* Published in the *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. iii. p. 320.

“ omnem suspicionem deponat, devotionem vestram hortamur, velit ei nomine nostro promittere, quòd si ad nos redierit, illæsus inviolatusque erit, et in ea gratia Apostolica nos habituros, qua habebatur ante decessum.

“ Datum Romæ, 8 Julii 1506: Pontificatus nostri anno III.”

M. Angelo complied with this humble petition of the sovereign pontiff: the reconciliation took place at Bologna, and in 1508 he returned to Rome. He then continued for a while the execution of the tomb, but Julius took him very reluctantly from this work to decorate the Sistine chapel. In 1513 Julius died; and Leo X. who succeeded him, called M. Angelo off from his favourite work of the tomb, to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence. The consequence of this was, that during the pontificate of Leo, the monument of Julius remained almost untouched, but upon that Pope's death it was again resumed. The original design however was never executed; the statue of Moses was alone erected upon the tomb, with two figures of Religion and Virtue: and these were placed not in the Basilica of S. Peter, but in S. Pietro in Vincoli.^y

^y Three figures of slaves, which were intended to serve as Caryatides to this monument, may still be seen; two of them at Paris, and the third in the Boboli Gardens at Florence. See Cicognara, Storia della Scultura.

The question is very naturally asked, why such a figure should be introduced at all. But this ought not to interfere with the merits or demerits of the statue; we may censure the sculptor's taste for making it form part of a sepulchral monument, but having done that, we should submit the execution alone to the test of criticism. Opinions must be ever variable upon works of art; and it is only with such a production as the Apollo Belvedere, that persons should not venture to express any disappointment. But the Moses of M. Angelo has been so often criticised and so often abused, that there is no great presumption in stating some objections to it, or rather in repeating them, for they have struck thousands of persons before. In the first place, he is sitting down, or, as some say, preparing to rise, the effect of which is not dignified: he is besides brought so near, that the colossal size makes him look more like a savage than any thing else. The prodigious quantity of drapery adds to the heaviness, and his beard is quite a caricature. The horns also have been introduced, which even in painting seldom look well, and amount almost to an absurdity in sculpture: from the circumstance of the horns and the beard, the statue has by some been said to resemble Pan or a Satyr more than Moses. There is however a fine expression in the whole, and one thing at least would be allowed by all, that it is the work of a great sculptor. No common artist could ever have conceived such a work.

There is a celebrated sonnet composed by Giovambattista Zappi upon this subject :

Chi è costui, che in dura pietra scolto
 Siede gigante, e la piu illustre e conte
 Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte
 Le labbia sì, che le parole ascolto ?
 Quest' è Mosè : ben mel diceva il folto
 Onor del mento, e'l doppio raggio in fronte ;
 Quest' è Mosè, quando scendea del monte,
 E gran parte del Nume avea nel volto.
 Tal era allor, che le sonante e vaste
 Acque ei sospese a se d'intorno, e tale
 Quando il mar chiuse, e ne fe tomba altrui.
 E voi, sue turbe, un rio vitello alzaste ?
 Alzate aveste imago a questo eguale !
 Ch'era men fallo l'adorar costui.

What living form in solid marble bound
 Sits here gigantic, while each stretch of art
 Springs into being ?—hark —there seems to start
 Forth from those living lips no fancied sound :
 'Tis He—his brow with forked radiance crown'd,
 His beard's full flowing honours speak his name ;
 'Tis Moses—thus from off the mount of flame
 With godlike light encircling him he came.
 Such was his form, when huge and roaring waves
 Stood self-supported round him ; thus he bade
 The sea to close and form a nation's tomb.
 And did ye raise a molten calf, ye slaves ?
 Had your vain idol been like *this* array'd,
 The venial crime had met à milder doom.

The church of S. Pudentiana stands on the site of the house of S. Prudentius, who is said by the Martyrologists to have been converted to Christianity by St. Peter, with his two sons Novatus and Timothy, and his two daughters Pudentiana and Prassede. According to the same authors, St. Peter lived in this house from the second year of Claudius to the ninth. He left it when the edict was issued for all Jews to quit Rome, which is mentioned in Acts, xviii. 2. It was here that he superintended the Gospel of St. Mark, and upon going away he gave to his host a portrait of our Saviour, which is still preserved in the church of S. Prassede. When he returned to Rome with St. Paul, A. D. 63, he is said to have again lodged with Pudens, whom S. Paul mentions in 2 Tim. iv. 21.* Some commentators make the third Satire of Juvenal allude to the meetings held in this house. A church was built here by S. Pius I. in 144,* but how much of the present building, or whether any of it be of that date, I could not learn. The fourteen pillars, which divide it into three aisles, are perhaps the same which were erected then, and seem to have been taken from some older building. In the chapel to the right of the choir is the very altar on which St. Peter celebrated the mass. In

* S. Paul also names Claudia, who is said to have been the wife of Pudens, and daughter of the British chief Caractacus.

* Platina.

the chapel of the Gaetani family is a well, in which S. Pudentiana put the blood of the martyrs, who are buried in this church to the number of 3,000! A notice may be seen here, that all persons who visit this church every day have an indulgence of 3,000 years, and a remission of half their sins.

In point of grandeur and beauty, few churches have pleased me more than the Certosa, or S. Maria degli Angioli. It was a vast room, by some called a picture-gallery, in the baths of Diocletian, and converted into a church in 1561 by Pius IV. upon the designs of Michel Angelo: he formed it into a Greek cross, a shape which has been already praised as one particularly adapted to give an idea of extent and magnificence of proportion. As the floor suffered from damp, he raised it, by which means the eight granite columns belonging to the ancient edifice lost part of their height, and new bases were put of marble. In 1749 it underwent a great change, but the form of the Greek cross was still preserved, and eight pillars were added of brick to resemble the others. The imitation is extremely good. The original ones of granite are prodigiously fine, each being a solid mass of 46 feet in height: the diameter of four of them is 4 feet 2 inches, (French:) of the other four 4 feet 4 inches. The capitals of the former are Corinthian, and one of them, which had been destroyed, was replaced by another of equal dimensions found not far from the Colosseum. The

capitals of the new pillars are Composite. The cross is 298 feet in length either way, and the height is 91. The entrance is by a circular vestibule, likewise belonging to the ancient baths, which as well as the Church of S. Bernardo was one of the round buildings which stood at each of the four corners. Carlo Maratta and Salvator Rosa are buried here. The pictures are some of the best in Rome. Many of them, as has been already mentioned, were painted for St. Peter's, and removed hither. The martyrdom of S. Sebastian is one of the finest works of Domenichino. The Baptism of Jesus Christ, by Carlo Maratta; the Conception of the Madonna, by P. Bianchi; the Fall of Simon Magus, by Pompeo Battoni, came from St. Peter's, and are all excellent. In 1701 a meridian line was drawn on the floor by M. Bianchini.

La Chiesa Nuova, or S. Maria in Vallicella, deserves an early mention, as being one of the largest and handsomest churches in Rome. It was built in 1577, and received its name from having succeeded to an old church, which stood here in a low situation. Some of the pictures are good, but the light is not favourable for seeing them. The ceiling and cupola were painted by Pietro da Cortona. The church was built by S. Filippo Neri, whose house or a part of it still remains adjoining to the church: his confessional, his bed, and his shoes, are among the objects shown. S. Filippo Neri is a saint of comparatively modern

times; it not being above 225 years since he died. He was born at Florence, July 23d, 1515, and sent to Naples as a merchant; but disliking his profession, he went to Rome, and at the age of 38 became priest. He was celebrated for devotional exercises, and passed forty hours successively in prayer. The congregation of the Oratory was founded by him; which took its name from a room built by him at Florence in the form of an Oratory: and as music was particularly used in their solemnities, the term *Oratorio* came to express compositions of sacred music. The first regular composition of the kind was performed in this church in the year 1600: but the origin of this kind of music is to be traced to a much earlier date. Oratorios are still performed during Lent in this church, at which no females can be present. Neri also encouraged Cardinal Baronius to write his celebrated Annals. He died in 1595, and was canonized in 1622. Baronius is also buried in this church.

The Church of the Holy Apostles in the Piazza of that name is also a fine structure. Some falling angels on the ceiling over the tribune are wonderfully painted. There is a fine tomb of Clement XIV. by Canova. I saw also an inscription to Maria Clementina, Queen of England, i. e. wife of the Pretender.

Hic Clementinæ remanent præcordia, nam cor
Cælestis fecit, ne superesset, amor.

Her body reposes in St. Peter's.

S. Maria sopra Minerva is so called from being built upon the ruins of the Temple of Minerva, which Pompey erected after his conquests in Asia. Poggio, in his work upon the Mutability of Fortune, tells us, that some pillars and other remains of this temple were destroyed to make lime not long before his time, that is in the fourteenth century. The church is unfinished on the outside, but the interior is handsome. The most celebrated work in it is the statue of our Saviour, by Michel Angelo. It is not often that this subject has been treated in sculpture; and perhaps it were better if the representation of his person were confined to painting. However there is nothing irreverent in the effect produced by M. Angelo in the work before us. It is deservedly reckoned among his finest and most successful efforts: and was executed by him at or about the age of fifty. One foot is covered with brass, that it may not be worn away by the kisses of the faithful. Leo X. is buried here, behind the altar. An Englishman also will observe, not far off, the tomb of Ph. Th. Howard, Cardinal, "Magnæ Britanniae Protector." He died May 21, 1694, and was grandson of Thomas, Earl of Arundel. The best library in Rome for printed books belongs to the Dominican convent here: it does not however seem to possess many of a modern date. Strangers may enter without introduction, and ask for any book: a pleasing instance of liberality,

which is frequent on the continent, and might be oftener imitated in our own country.

S. Andrea della Valle has a handsome front, and the interior is also extremely fine. The cupola is painted by Lanfranco, and is reckoned the most beautiful in Rome. At the four angles of it are the Evangelists by Domenichino, which surprised and pleased me as much as any paintings I ever saw. It is curious to find so learned a man as S. Jerom giving the following reason for the four beasts mentioned by Ezekiel^b being represented together with the four Evangelists, as they are in this church. He says, that the face of the man was given to St. Matthew, because he begins his gospel by writing of man, "*Liber Generationis Jesus Christi, &c.*" The lion was applied to St. Mark, because he begins with the voice of a lion roaring in the wilderness. St. Luke has the ox, because his Gospel commences with mention of Zacharias the priest. The flying eagle represents St. John, because he soars higher than the other Evangelists, and discourses of the word of God. Irenæus points out a similar relation between the four Gospels, and the four beasts mentioned in the Revelations:^c but he compares St. Mark to the eagle, and St. John to the lion.^d Augustin compares St. Matthew to the lion, and

^b C. i. 5—10.

^c Rev. iv. 7.

^d Lib. iii. c. 11.

St. Mark to the man.* The subject is treated with much more seriousness than it deserves, and much reading is exhibited in illustration of it, by M. J. Thomasius, in a separate disquisition.^f The ceiling of the tribune, representing the call of Peter and Andrew, is also by Domenichino, which is now much admired; but he himself could not bear to look at the work when finished, as we learn from a letter in the collection already noticed.^g The sentence is to this effect: "Is not the tribune of S. Andrea della Valle one of the finest things existing in fresco? and yet there was an idea of sending the masons with their hammers and pulling it down, so poor did it appear, when he threw it open to the public; and as he was passing by the church, he (Domenichino) stopped with his scholars to look at it, and shrugging up his shoulders he said to them, Well! I did not think that I had worked so ill as this."

In S. Carlo ai Catinari may be seen similar paintings at the angles of the cupola, also by Domenichino, but not equal to the former. This church is dedicated to S. Charles Borromeo, and has its name from a manufacture of wooden dishes, *catini*, being carried on in the Piazza in front of it. It was built in 1612. There is a

* De Consens. Evang. c. 6.

^f Published in the Critici Sacri.

^g Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 37.

painting of the saint behind the altar, by Guido. S. Charles, who was of the noble family of Borromeo at Milan, seems well deserving of the praise bestowed upon him by Eustace. His fame rests upon a far different foundation from that of many of his brethren in the calendar; and if ever a man deserved such reverence from his fellow-men, it would be S. Charles Borromeo.^h His family was one of illustrious rank at Milan, and he himself was son of Count Gibert Borromeo, by Margaret de' Medici, sister of Pius IV. He was made cardinal in 1560, and afterwards Archbishop of Milan. He turned his attention particularly to establishing ecclesiastical seminaries, and reforming the religious orders. He was particularly instrumental in bringing the Council of Trent to a conclusion. His death happened in 1584, and he was canonized in 1610. Lives of him have been written by Guissano, Godeau, and others.

There are two churches celebrated for the paintings of Raffael, S. Agostino and S. Maria della Pace. It has been already mentioned, that the cupola of S. Agostino is said to have been

^h It is strange that Jeremy Taylor mentions him together with S. Fingare, S. Antony of Padua, S. Christopher, and many others "of whom Cardinal Bessarion complained, that "many of them were such persons whose life he could not approve, and such concerning whom they knew nothing, "but from their parties, and by pretended revelations."—Works, vol. x. p. 231.

the first constructed in Rome. The church was built in 1483. Upon one of the pillars of the nave is a painting of the prophet Isaiah, by Raffael. The first impression upon seeing this painting is the difference in the style of it from that of all the other works of Raffael. The dispute, whether this great master profited by having seen the paintings of Michel Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, is generally known. The question has been very ably handled in a letter from Luigi Crespi (private chaplain to Benedict XIV.) to Bottari.¹ He rests principally upon the authority of Vasari, from whom it appears, that Raffael twice got admission to the Sistine Chapel, while the work of M. Angelo was going on. M. Angelo left Rome after he had worked about a year in the chapel, on which occasion Bramante, who had the keys of it, let in Raffael. The consequence was, as Vasari asserts, that Raffael immediately repainted the figure of Isaiah, which he had already finished in S. Agostino. We must remark upon this story, that Vasari himself seems afterwards to have disbelieved it, and that M. Angelo appears never to have quitted Rome while he was engaged in this work.² The dates also will not agree.

When the paintings were half finished, the pope insisted upon their being opened to public

¹ Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 323-51.

² This is very satisfactorily made out by Roscoe, in his *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 323.

inspection; upon which occasion Vasari says, that all Rome ran to see them, and Raffael among the rest. From this time, he adds, Raffael suddenly changed his manner, and to show his powers, immediately executed the Prophets and Sibyls in the Church of La Pace. Some of these assertions perhaps can never be proved or contradicted; but a simple statement of dates, as far as we can ascertain them, may be satisfactory. M. Angelo was first employed in the Sistine Chapel in 1508, and finished his work in 1512. Raffael was called to Rome, and began the dispute upon the Sacrament in 1508. The figure of Isaiah was painted, according to Vasari, in 1511. Raffael finished the second room, in which is the painting of Heliodorus, in 1512.

The fact seems hardly questionable, that he might have seen the work of M. Angelo; and there is considerably strong evidence that he actually did. The great admirers of Raffael, in anxiety for his fame, strenuously deny the fact; but they cannot deny, that he certainly made an alteration in his style about this time. Tradition says, that he painted this figure of Isaiah as a rival to the Prophets of M. Angelo in the Sistine Chapel. The imitation is very apparent; and if the story be true, we must naturally conclude that Raffael felt a jealousy for the fame which those works had gained for his great rival: he must have studied them accurately to produce an imitation; and consequently the question is reduced

to a very narrow limit,—merely, whether he saw the Sistine Chapel before 1511? That he saw it afterwards, and studied the painting of these Prophets in particular, is evident; and surely it is a strange way of supporting the fame of Raffael or any master to say, that he scrutinized the finest productions of the art with an eye even of jealous accuracy, and yet did not profit by them. No person would accuse Raffael of servilely imitating M. Angelo; perhaps he was unconscious that he was imitating him at all; but it is the characteristic of true genius to cull from every quarter the excellencies which present themselves, and to unite and identify them with its own. Raffael himself is reported to have thanked God that he was born in the time of M. Angelo.

The other church, S. Maria della Pace, was so called from the peace which was restored to Italy, when it was threatened by the Turks in 1480. Pope Sixtus IV. then built the church in consequence of a vow: and Alexander VII. rebuilt it upon the re-establishment of peace among the Christian Princes. The paintings in it are in fresco, over the arches of the nave on the south side. They represent the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, and Tiburtine Sibyls.¹ There can be

¹ Raffael employed the assistance of one of his pupils for this work, Timoteo da Urbino. In the *Lettere Pittoriche*, (vol. ii. p. 90,) Sebastiano Resta says, that he had obtained the original drawings of these Sibyls: one half came from Nuremberg, the other half from Messina.

little doubt, that these were painted as rivals of M. Angelo's Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel: but here he has followed his own style, and extremely beautiful they are. In the former church he was anxious to show, that he also could adopt the style so much admired in his great rival; here he treated the same subject in his own manner, and set the one fairly against the other. Unfortunately the work of Raffael has suffered much more from age than that of M. Angelo; and all the figures have lately been retouched: it may be added, that if they were half as much damaged as the frescos which are near them, they must have received a great deal of restoration. It is generally said, that Raffael traced the outlines, which were filled up by Giulio Romano.

S. Agnese in the Piazza Navona is among the finest churches in Rome, both in the exterior and interior. It is in the form of a Greek cross, and ornamented with good statues and paintings. Among the former is S. Sebastian, altered from an antique by Paolo Campi; and a statue of S. Agnese. Little is known of this saint, except what is related by S. Ambrose^m and Prudentius.ⁿ They tell us, that at the age of twelve or thirteen she suffered many tortures for her religion; and when the judge saw her disregard them, he ordered her to be publicly exposed; but the first person who cast his eyes upon her was struck

^m De Virginibus, lib. i. c. 2.

ⁿ Hymn. xiv.

with blindness. Her body is supposed to lie in the church dedicated to her in the Via Nomentana, which was built by Constantine. Some, however, say that she was buried at Nomento, but that her head is at St. John Lateran: others, again, maintain that her relics were conveyed to Constantinople,^o from thence to France, and after that to Manreza in Catalonia. They also pretend to preserve them at Utrecht.

The church of the Trinità de' Monti, conspicuous from its situation on the top of the Pincian Hill, and the flight of 135 steps which lead to it, was built in 1494 by Charles VIII. King of France, when he was on his expedition to Naples, and is still considered as belonging to the French nation. The Deposition from the Cross, a celebrated work of Daniel da Volterra, and painted under the direction of Michel Angelo, is here. In 1819, I saw it in a separate part of the building, where it had been placed to receive some restorations, having been detached from the wall by that extraordinary process, which is so successfully practised with fresco paintings at Rome. This art was known to the ancients. Vitruvius expressly says,^p that some paintings were taken from a wall at Sparta, the bricks themselves having been cut

^o They were placed in the Church of S. Laurence at Constantinople, in the reign of the younger Theodosius. Theodor. Lector, ii. 64.

^p Lib. ii. c. 8.

through, and were placed in wooden frames, after which they were carried to Rome, and put up in the Comitium. Pliny also¹ talks of "crustas parietum excisas, tabulis marginatis inclusas." The Descent from the Cross was first carried to the Capitol, but is finally to resume its former station in the church. There is another fine fresco by the same master, the Murder of the Innocents, of which there is an oil painting also by Daniel in the tribune at Florence. We may observe in these paintings, what is to be remarked in many by the early masters, that nearly all the figures have red hair. Considering the rarity of this circumstance in Italy, and that almost every native Italian is dark, it is difficult to explain what induced the first painters to make this alteration. I merely offer this remark, as one which may perhaps bear upon a very difficult subject, the cause of the revival of the art of painting in Italy. The earliest oil paintings now preserved in that country are by Greeks: but that will not furnish any explanation. The Germans, who dispute with the Italians the merit of having taken the lead, would perhaps think the circumstance of the red hair in their own favour.

The Church of the Capucins in the Piazza Barberini must be visited for sake of the painting of Michael the Archangel by Guido. The face of the Devil is said to be a portrait of Pope

¹ Lib. xxxv. c. 45.

Urban VIII., with whom the painter had some quarrel. Opposite to it is St. Paul cured by Ananias, one of the best paintings of Pietro da Cortona. Over the door is the Cartoon of Giotto's Navicella, which is executed in mosaic over the entrance to St. Peter's. This is one of the largest convents of the order of Capucins, and it is perhaps not necessary to mention, that this is one of the most numerous orders. Matthew di Baschi, a Friar Minor or Franciscan of the convent of Monte Falco in the Duchy of Urbino, gave out in 1525, that God had enjoined him by a vision to more rigorous poverty, and he retired into solitude. Many joined him; and after suffering persecution, Clement VII. in 1528, allowed them to establish a society, and be called Friars Eremite Minor.^r Their more common title of Capucins is taken from the hood, which they wear. Pope Urban VIII. allowed them to call themselves the true Sons of St. Francis. There were once 500 convents of this order, and 25,000 Capucins. Before the visit of the French there were three or four hundred Friars in this convent, and there are apartments for 1,000. In 1819 there were not more than 80 or 90, but the numbers were increasing. The cemetery of the convent deserves to be seen. It is in vaults under the church, and

^r I have seen it stated, that the Capucins were founded in 1540 by Godofiedus Veraglius, who afterwards abjured popery, and was burned alive at Turin in 1557.

the soil came from Jerusalem. When a Friar dies, he is put into the oldest grave, and the bones of the former occupant are removed into a general receptacle. The ceiling and walls are ornamented with skulls and bones disposed in the most fanciful shapes; all the furniture, even the lamps, are made of these materials. Some skeletons are dressed in the robe of the order.

S. Gregorio, on the Cælian Hill, stands where St. Gregory, who was pope about A. D. 600, had his house. He was of the Anician family. The church is not remarkable; but from the terrace in front there is a most excellent view of the ruins of Rome. In a chapel detached from it are two superb frescos, painted as rival performances; one by Guido, representing St. Andrew led to crucifixion; and the other by Domenichino, of the flagellation of the same saint. Annibal Caracci said of the two paintings, "Guido's is the painting of the master," and turning to that of Domenichino, "This is the painting of the scholar, but who knew more about it than the master." In another chapel is a marble table, on which S. Gregory every morning fed twelve poor pilgrims. In a cloister I saw a monument to Sir Edward Carne, Knt. "a lawyer, and ambassador to the Emperor and to Rome. After Queen Mary's death he left England. *Galfridus Vachanus* and *Thomas Fremannus* put up the monument. He died in

• *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. iii. p. 383.

1561." He is often mentioned by Burnet in his History of the Reformation, who has printed some of his dispatches. Elizabeth recalled him from Rome upon her accession; but Pope Paul IV. detained him.

On the other side of the Tiber there are not many churches of much interest. S. Cecilia's is handsome. Part of the house where the saint lived is shown here, and she herself lies buried under the high altar; but the French carried off the silver urn which contained her bones. There is a recumbent statue of her in marble. Little or nothing is known of this musical lady; nor are the martyrologists agreed, whether she suffered under Alexander Severus, M. Aurelius, Commodus, or Diocletian. She has been honoured as a saint since the fifth century; and there are accounts of her body being found in the cemetery of S. Sixtus in the year 821: but that discovery was perhaps premature, as the real body was found at the end of the sixteenth century in her own church. The 22d of November is sacred to her. The invention of the organ has sometimes been ascribed to S. Cecilia. We know that this instrument was used at Constantinople in the time of Julian the Apostate:[†] but musical instruments, the sound of which was produced by wind, were certainly known long before. S. Jerome mentions organs which might be heard at the distance of a mile.

[†] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xiv. c. 6.

The time of their being introduced into churches has been much disputed ; some referring it to the seventh, others to the thirteenth century. There were certainly organs in England in the eighth century." In the list of relics in this church, the following struck me as curious: part of Christ's vest; two of the thorns; part of the sponge; some milk of the Virgin Mary; part of her veil and of her chemise; part of the vest and staff of Joseph; two teeth of St. Peter; seven rings of the chain by which he was bound; one tooth of St. Paul; part of St. James's chin; part of the head and two fingers of St. Thomas; and Mary Magdalen's great toe.

S. Maria in Trastevere is a handsome church; and the twenty-two Ionic columns, which divide it into three aisles, appear to have belonged to some ancient building. The assumption of the Virgin is a very fine painting by Domenichino. This is stated to have been the first church publicly dedicated to God in Rome. It was in the year 224, and the worship of the Virgin is said to have been acknowledged in the title of it. In 340 it was entirely rebuilt by S. Julius. The Spanish writers say, that this was the second church erected in honour of the Virgin, and that the first was founded by S. James the Apostle in Spain. The interval is rather inconveniently long.

S. Pietro in Montorio was formerly visited by

^u Turner, Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 431.

all strangers, to see the wonderful painting of the Transfiguration by Raffael. This is generally called the finest picture in the world, though the Communion of St. Jerom, by Domenichino, makes the prize doubtful. The Transfiguration was one of the last works of Raffael, and was executed for the cathedral of Narbonne, by order of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. Sebastian del Piombo painted, as a rival to it, the Raising of Lazarus, which was in the possession of Mr. Angerstein. After the return of the Transfiguration from the Louvre, it was put up in the Vatican, and the church of S. Pietro in Montorio still enjoys a pension in lieu of it. The present church was built by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and is said to stand near the place where St. Peter was crucified. Over the precise spot is a beautiful little temple, built by Palladio. The origin of the name of the hill on which it stands, Mons Aureus or Montorio, is uncertain; but as this is said to be the spot where St. Peter was crucified, the name of *Golden Hill* has been thought to allude to the value imposed upon it by that event. Andrea Fulvio says, with greater probability, that it came from some sand of a yellow or golden colour being dug up here.

We must remember, that St. Peter was crucified on this hill, but was buried at the Vatican. I should be inclined to believe the latter tradition, and perhaps the former may be true also: but the place of his interment is more likely

to have been kept in remembrance than that of his suffering. Even Roman Catholic writers have differed as to the precise spot, where he was crucified, and eight different places have been mentioned, all of which are in the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Eusebius appeals to a constant tradition, that St. Peter was buried in a cemetery at the Vatican, and quotes the authority of Caius, who lived early in the third century.* Some Protestant writers have thought it necessary to deny that St. Peter was ever at Rome at all. I confess that I am utterly at a loss to see what great advantage we give to the Roman Catholics by allowing their first pope to have resided at Rome. But at all events, truth is to be preferred to prejudice; and the Protestant cause is so great a gainer by the records of authentic history, that it would be the height of ingratitude in us to endeavour to pervert its testimony. After examining the evidence produced by Baronius, the conclusion seems irresistible, that St. Peter undoubtedly visited Rome, and suffered martyrdom there. The only question is concerning the period of his residence. It used to be religiously maintained by the Roman Catholics, that he held the See of Rome twenty-five years: but the Protestants have shown this to be impossible, and some writers even of the Romish Church have allowed it to be unsupported by history.† The only an-

* Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 25.

† Valesius, Papebrochius, Pagius, &c.

cient authors who can be quoted as asserting it, are Eusebius and Jerome: perhaps we should name the latter only. We read in the Chronicle of Eusebius, at the year 43, that Peter, after founding the Church of Antioch,^a was sent to Rome, where he preached the Gospel for twenty-five years, and was Bishop of that city. But this part of the Chronicle does not exist in the Greek, nor in the Armenian, and it is supposed to have been one of the additions made by Jerome. Eusebius does not say the same in any other part of his writings, though he mentions St. Peter's going to Rome in the reign of Claudius:^a but Jerome tells us that he came in the second year of this emperor, and held the See twenty-five years.^b On the other hand, Origen, who is quoted by Eusebius himself,^c says that Peter went to Rome towards the end of his life: and Lactantius places it in the reign of Nero, and adds that he suffered martyrdom not long after.^d Thus the testimony of the Fathers is at least divided, if it does not expressly disprove his long residence in Rome. Eusebius, indeed, says in his history, as observed already, that Peter went to Rome in the reign of Claudius: but this very passage, if read with attention, seems to imply that he did not stay there long.

^a Socrates calls Peter the first bishop of Antioch, lib. vi. c. 8. See also Sozom. lib. i. c. 2.

^b Lib. ii. c. 14.

^b Catal. de Script. Eccles.

^c Lib. iii. c. 1.

^d De Morte Persecut. c. 2.

The Acts of the Apostles also make it impossible, that he should have resided there during the eighteen first years after the Resurrection, whereas the second year of Claudius (which is the time mentioned by Jerome for his going to Rome) falls in with the 9th year after the Resurrection, or A.D. 42. The history contained in the Acts may perhaps allow him to have gone to Rome some time in the reign of Claudius, but his visit must have been a short one: if we follow Eusebius, it must have been before the events recorded in the 18th chapter of the Acts.^e It has been observed also, that St. Paul makes no mention of St. Peter, either in his Epistle to the Romans, or in his Epistles written from Rome: from which it is inferred, that St. Peter was not at Rome at either of those periods. So that there seems good reason to prefer the authority of Origen and Lactantius, and to conclude either that St. Peter made two visits, the first of which was a very short one in the reign of Claudius, and the second in the time of Nero: or that he did not go there at all till the time of the latter emperor, somewhere about the year 66, which was also the period of St. Paul's second visit to Rome. It is supposed that they suffered martyr-

^e The reader may see this by comparing the beginning of the 17th chapter of the second book of Eusebius with the end of the twenty-eighth, where he treats of the journey which Philo made to Rome.

dom in the following year, during the persecution of Nero. This is positively asserted by Eusebius on the authority of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth.^f

I mention below the names of some of those writers who assert St. Peter to have been at Rome, and to have suffered martyrdom there. I am indebted for most of the references to Baronius, and the period in which each author lived, is also added.^g

An Englishman may be allowed to notice the Church of St. Thomas, or S. Tomaso degl' Inglesi, not far from the Palazzo Farnese, though it has no particular beauty to recommend it. It is known, that previous to 630, Offa had built or restored a church in this place, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and was one of the twenty privileged abbeys. Each of these had a

^f Lib. ii. c. 25.

^g Papias (A.D. 116.) apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 13. Dionysius (170.) apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25. Irenæus, (178.) adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 1. Clem. Alex. (194.) apud Euseb. lib. vi. c. 14. Tertullian (200.) de Præscript. c. 36; de Baptismo, c. 4; adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 5. Petrus Alex. (300.) can. 9. Origen (240.) apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 1. Lactantius, (306.) lib. iv. c. 21. Euseb. (315.) ll. cc. Athanasius (326.) Apol. vol. i. p. 331. Hist. Arian. i. p. 366. Ambrosius, (374.) in Natal. Apost. Hieronymus (392.) de Script. Eccles. in Petro. Augustin. (398.) ser. vii. in Natal. Apost. Chrysost. (398.) de Petro et Paulo. Socrates, (400.) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 22. Cyrillus, (412.) Epist. ad Cœlest. Sozom. (5th century,) lib. iv. c. 15. lib. vii. c. 4. 18. Theodore. (423.) Epist. 116.

hospital for the reception of pilgrims who visited Rome. Those from England were lodged here. In 817 the building was burnt down, and Egbert had it restored. A rich Englishman, John Scopard, is also said to have left considerable property towards the maintenance of this church. When Becket went to Rome, he lodged here; and when he was canonized by Alexander III. two years after his death, the church took the name of St. Thomas. One of his arms is preserved in it, and there are several relics of him in Rome: but as such pains were taken by Henry VIII. to destroy his bones, we may wonder how these relics were obtained. His brains were sent to Rome soon after his murder. Gregory XIII. out of kindness to the English nation, which he hoped to convert from its lamentable heresy, established a seminary here for English students, who were bound to return to their native country, and endeavour to re-establish the Catholic religion, whenever it should seem good to their superiors. The church contains some paintings of the "martyrdoms suffered by many Catholics under the cruel reign of Elizabeth." This account is taken from Pancirolli, who has written a description of all the churches in Rome. It may not be unacceptable to the reader to give a short extract from this work, in which he notices the secession of the English Church. "The spirit of Henry II. seems to have been inherited by Henry VIII. who made himself head

“ of the English Church in order to divorce himself from his legitimate consort, the sister of the King of Spain, and to marry a low woman, “ (*malvagia*,) so that Paul III. was obliged to “ excommunicate him. From that time forward “ the affairs of religion in that kingdom have “ been constantly going from bad to worse; all “ his successors, as well male as female, having “ continued to make themselves revered as vicars “ of Christ.”

There is a church on the other side of the Tiber which is dedicated to St. Edmund, and applied to the same purpose as the last. Two Edmunds, saints and kings of England, are recorded in the Romish calendar. The date of the first is not known: the second was killed by the Danes in 870. Considering the dubious claims of some of the popish saints, it is but fair to our countryman to state, that he really existed, and was really killed by the Danes in the year mentioned. The reasons of his being admitted into the calendar are not so satisfactory. Matthew of Westminster tells us, that after the defeat at Thetford, he was obliged to surrender to the Danish army at Heglesdune. Not satisfied with simply putting him to death, the enemy fastened him to a tree, and transfixed him with arrows, till, as the honest chronicler expresses it, his body resembled a hedge-hog. His head was then severed from his body, and both were thrown unburied into a neighbouring wood. When the

Danes quitted that part of the country, the inhabitants commenced a search after their saint and king. They vociferated for a long time, Where are you? when at length, to the surprise and delight of all, the head replied, Here, here, here! Soon after a wolf was seen carrying the head in his paws; and it was interred, together with the body, near the spot! St. Edmundsbury was called after this saint.

PALACES.



HAVING mentioned the Churches of Rome, we come next to the Palaces. An Englishman travelling in Italy must divest himself of the idea which he usually attaches to the word *palace*. In our own country we understand by it the residence of royalty; and affixing ideas of magnificence to the term, we often complain of being disappointed with the foreign palaces, whereas in our own country it is the general observation, that the royal palaces are inferior to private houses. In Italy the residence of every nobleman is called a palace. In Rome they are abundantly frequent; and if a concise description were demanded of them, it would not be far from the truth to say, that with a splendid outside, they display a lamentable want of comfort and inattention to cleanliness in the interior. The plan is nearly the same in all of them: they are built round a quadrangle, with a large staircase opening into the court: the rooms communicate with each other, sometimes round the

whole of the quadrangle, and form a suit of apartments on each floor sufficient to constitute a house. But with all this scale of splendour, there is little or nothing in a Roman palace worth seeing, except the works of art. Even this attraction has been diminished in latter times, the poverty of the nobles having compelled many of them to sell their pictures. That splendour of furniture and decoration which characterizes the English houses, whether in town or country, is unknown at Rome. The difference of climate probably made the taste of the two countries originally different; and the great contrast in national wealth, particularly in later times, has made it more apparent now. An Englishman, accustomed to a cold climate, has recourse to every thing which ingenuity and refinement can devise to exclude the outward air. That word of truly British growth, and which is to be found neither in the feelings nor in the language of any other country, *comfort*, makes various articles of domestic use indispensable in England, which are little valued abroad. In Rome the inhabitants are used to live a great deal in the outward air, and they study accordingly to preserve their dwelling-rooms cool. A brick floor without a carpet is revolting to our feelings, and still more so when seen in a palace: a stove appears but a poor substitute for a fireplace; and we are apt to condemn these residences of the Roman nobles, as a display of

splendid misery. In former times they were undoubtedly much more brilliant than they are at present. For now, independent of any difference which might be caused by climate, the poverty and dirtiness of the owner are in many instances disgustingly apparent.

It is however not fair to condemn a Roman noble because his palace is dirty on the ground floor, or even on the first story. The quadrangle at the bottom generally serves for a court or stable yard, with offices round it; and the first floor is not unfrequently let to tradesmen or other occupiers. Many English families have of late been accommodated in the Roman palaces: the suites of rooms being so extensive, the owner finds one floor sufficient for his own use, and is glad to make money by letting the remainder. All this is very discordant with our notions: but if the Roman nobles are now become poor, we should recollect, that at the time when their palaces were built, they must have far exceeded ourselves in ideas of magnificence. In some of the quadrangles the whole house of a nobleman in London might be placed: nor in point of style can we at all compare the architecture of the two countries.

Having made these general observations, it is not my intention to describe each palace in particular; but I shall content myself with giving some account of that in which the pope resides. For upwards of a thousand years from the time

of Constantine the popes lived in the Lateran palace: but during their residence at Avignon it fell into such decay, that Gregory XI. who brought back the holy see to Rome, did not think it suitable or safe, and removed to the Vatican, which was rendered secure during those turbulent times by its vicinity to the castle of S. Angelo. The Lateran palace was rebuilt in 1586 by Sixtus V.; and in 1693 Innocent XII. turned it into a hospital for the poor. It was in this palace that the Lateran Councils were held, of which eight are mentioned by the best authorities, viz. in 313, 499, 500, 501, 745, 861, 993, 1065. Paul III. was the first pope who resided in the palace on the Monte Cavallo: and his successors have followed his example, leaving the Vatican merely for the celebration of ceremonies. The Vatican however being the most ancient, and by far the most celebrated, I shall confine myself to that.

THE VATICAN.

The dimensions of this palace, and the number of rooms assigned to it, border upon the marvellous. The whole pile of building, together with the gardens, is said to comprise a circumference of some miles: and while some accounts make the number of apartments 4,422; others swell it to 13,000!^a The effect of all this mass of architec-

^a Bonanni does this, p. 225.

ture is any thing but pleasing: from no point of view does it present any extent of front or magnificence of design; while its proximity to St. Peter's interferes most unfortunately with the view of that building. It is in fact a collection of apartments built by several popes. The date of its first commencement is not clearly known. There was certainly a palace here in the time of S. Leo III. as Charlemagne resided in it A.D. 800. Celestin III. added to it in 1191-8, as did Innocent III. 1198-216; and Nicolas III. in 1278. Nicolas V. in 1447-55 built the rooms which were afterwards painted by Raffael. Leo X. added the triple portico, the middle one of which is also painted by Raffael, and is thence called *Le Loggie di Raffaello*. Sextus V. added an entirely new palace, and Pius VI. built what is called the *Museo Pio-Clementino*. The paintings and statues preserved in this building, together with its prodigious library, have deservedly raised the fame of the Vatican above that of every other palace in the world. The pictures are not numerous; but those which are here are all excellent, and the paintings in fresco are some of the most wonderful productions which exist.

The Sistine Chapel deserves to be mentioned first. It derives its name from Sextus IV. who employed Baccio Pintelli to build it, and had the walls of the two sides painted by several Florentine artists about the year 1474. It is a very large and lofty oblong room, with scarcely any of

the usual furniture of a chapel, and is used on few occasions, except in the holy week, and the first Sunday in Advent. The cardinals also meet here in conclave to elect a new pope.^b

Not long after the return of Michel Angelo to Rome from Bologna in 1508, Julius II. employed him, much against his will, to paint the ceiling. Previous to this time he had been very little employed in painting, having acquired his celebrity by sculpture. He had executed the Bacchus and the David, which are now at Florence, and the Pietà, which is in St. Peter's. At this very time also he was employed by the Pope in executing a monument for himself, which has become universally celebrated by the statue of Moses.^c He had however astonished his countrymen at Florence some years before by the Cartoon which he painted in rivalry to one by Lionardo da Vinci. Vasari

^b The right of election was vested in the Cardinals only by Nicolas II. in the eleventh century. Leo VIII. (A.D. 962,) had transferred the whole power of election to the Emperor, before which time the clergy and people had also a voice. It was at the Council of Lyons, held by Gregory X. in 1274, that the Cardinals were ordered to be locked up, while they held the conclave.

^c It is singular, that Phidias, who was one of the greatest sculptors of antiquity, was also a painter, (Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 34.) Michel Angelo's fame in this double capacity is celebrated by Ariosto in his Orlando Furioso. Canto xxxiii. 2.

Duo Dossi, e quel, che a par sculpe e colora

Michel piu che mortal Angiol divino.

Ariosto and M. Angelo were born in the same year, 1474.

tells us, that Julius was advised both by San Gallo and Bramante, the two celebrated architects, to employ M. Angelo in painting the chapel. Bramante seems to have given his advice partly from jealousy, and from a wish to hinder the fame of M. Angelo and his favour with the Pope from eclipsing that of his relation Raffael. He therefore thought, that if M. Angelo was called away from his favourite pursuit of sculpture, in which his fame was already so great, and was employed in some work of painting, he would either fail, and so make the success of Raffael still more conspicuous; or it would at least have the effect of keeping the attention of Julius fixed upon works of painting, in which case Raffael could not fail to share his notice and applause.^d He reluctantly undertook the task; and if we may believe Vasari, he even recommended Raffael to be employed. So anxious was he for the success of the work, that he prepared the colours with his own hands, and finished the whole with scarcely any assistance. Even the scaffolding is said to have been made under his own directions, and he gave the profits of it afterwards to a poor carpenter, who had executed it for him. The agreement, which he made with the Pope, through Bramante, was for 15,000 ducats. He constantly refused to admit any person into the chapel while the work

^d Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 331, &c.

was going on: but in 1511, when about half of it was finished, the Pope insisted upon it being thrown open to public inspection. This was accordingly done. The great artist was then urged more than ever by the Pope to hasten its completion, and on Nov. 1, 1512, the whole work was concluded, and the public admitted without reserve. The latter part was finished in about 20 months.*

He selected subjects from the Old Testament for the ceiling; among which may be observed several circumstances attending the creation, treated in a most sublime manner, and with an effect truly astonishing. To artists it may be interesting to know, that the Deluge was the first subject executed by him. He also painted some Prophets and Sibyls over the windows, which are among the finest works which he has left. These Sibyls are five in number, and are

* A story is told by Vasari in the first edition which he published of his *Lives of the Painters*, that the Pope entered the chapel by stealth to see the painting: and that M. Angelo, who had pretended to quit Rome for a few days, received him with a shower of rubbish from the scaffolding, in consequence of which he left Rome. This anecdote has been repeated by later writers, but is evidently false. Vasari omitted it in his subsequent edition; and the quarrel between the painter and the Pope, which made the former retire to Florence, was while he was engaged in executing the tomb, as I have already mentioned at p. 221. The date of the Pope's letter, which is given at p. 221, fully proves the mistake.

known by the name of the Persian, Erythræan, Delphian, Cumæan, and Libyan.^f The introduction of such figures at all into a Christian Church may seem extraordinary, and a little digression may be allowed to explain the cause.

The story of the conference between Tarquinius Priscus and the Sibyl is too well known to need insertion. He appointed two persons to take care of the books, and U. C. 388 the number was increased to ten. We frequently read of the Sibylline books being consulted upon any remarkable or calamitous event, and the greatest secrecy was observed in the preservation of them. In the year of Rome 671, or A. C. 83, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which they were kept, was burnt, and the precious documents destroyed. In consequence of which, three ambassadors were dispatched to Erythræ, Samos, Ilium, and other places, to collect any prophecies of the Sibyls which were known. They brought back about 1000 verses.^g The number of curators was then increased to 15, and afterwards to 40, but the name of Quindecemviri still continued. Augustus removed the books to the palace; but whether they were destroyed by any of the fires which raged in that quarter, does not appear. Mention

^f The Cave of the Cumæan Sibyl is mentioned by Aristotle, who says that she was the same with the Erythræan.—*De Mirab. Auscult.*

^g Tacitus, *An. lib. vi. c. 12.* Lactant. *lib. i. c. 6.*

is certainly made of the Sibylline books to a late period. Ammianus notices them, A. D. 363; and Claudius Numatianus in 389. But from what has been stated, it might be expected that great confusion would arise as to what were the original prophecies, and whether the subsequent additions were genuine or no. The Christians took advantage of them at an early period, forcing some into an interpretation favourable to their religion, and by a pious fraud inventing others.^b A treatise has been written upon the subject by David Blondel, in which he conjectures, that the forgery began about the year 138; and he even accuses Hermas of being accessory to it; but the charge is certainly unfounded. The Gnostics pretended to have some genuine works of Noah's wife: to meet which formidable document, the orthodox party produced the writings of Noah's daughter, whom they called a Sibyl. As many as eight books were circulated under the name of Sibylline; and nearly twenty persons from different countries are mentioned as Sibyls. Of these, the five already named became the most celebrated; and some of the early fathers, pious and learned men, believed that they really had prophesied of our Saviour. It will be sufficient to mention Justin Martyrⁱ and Clemens Alexan-

^b Origen, c. Cels. lib. vii. Lactant. de Vera Sap. c. 15.

ⁱ Cohort. ad Græcos, xvii. 37. He tells us, that he had seen at Cumæ a chapel cut out of one stone, (meaning pro-

drinus. The Roman Catholics have particularly appealed to them in support of some of the doctrines which are now rejected by the Protestants: and this will sufficiently account for their being joined in company with the Prophets in the Sistine Chapel.

The paintings on the side walls are also deserving of the greatest attention. They were executed by some of the most celebrated revivers of the art, and would well justify a description more in detail.

M. Angelo was not employed any more in this chapel till the time of Paul III. nearly thirty years after his first work there. This pope was so anxious to have the benefit of his talents, and yet found him so difficult to be prevailed upon, that he went in person to his house with ten cardinals to beg him to execute a painting of the Last Judgment. The great master complied, was employed eight years upon the work, and opened it to the public in Christmas 1542. This end of the chapel was before occupied by three paintings of Pietro Perugino. There is an original letter existing from M. Angelo to Pietro Aretino, the poet, from which we may ascertain the fact, that the design was entirely his own. He says, "I was delighted and grieved by the receipt of your letter. I was delighted at its

bably a cave in a rock,) from whence the Sibyl had delivered her oracles.

“ coming from you, whose merit is so remarkable ;
“ and I was also much grieved, because as I have
“ finished great part of the story, I cannot ex-
“ cuse your ideas, which are of such a cast, that
“ if the day of judgment had taken place, and
“ you had actually seen it, your words could not
“ describe it better.” At the end he dissuades
him from coming to Rome to see the progress of
the painting.^k

The letter of Aretino is also preserved in the
same collection ; and the contents of it will per-
haps excuse my translating that part of it, which
contains his ideas upon the subject which M.
Angelo was to represent. It is dated Venice,
September 15, 1537. “ In my opinion you ought
“ to be satisfied with having surpassed every one
“ else in your other works ; but I perceive, that
“ with the termination of the universe, which you
“ are now employed in painting, you think to
“ surpass the commencement of the world,^l which
“ you have already painted : that your works sur-
“ passed by themselves may give you a triumph
“ over yourself. Who would not be dismayed in
“ applying his pencil to such a terrific subject ?
“ I see Antichrist in the middle of the crowd with
“ a semblance, which none but you could con-
“ ceive. I see the terror in the countenances of
“ the living : I see the symptoms of extinction in

^k Vide Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 17.

^l Alluding to the paintings on the ceiling, finished in 1512.

“ the sun, the moon, and the stars. I see Fire,
“ and Air, and Earth, and Water, as it were,
“ yielding up their spirit. I see Nature at a dis-
“ tance confounded, concentrating her barrenness
“ in the decrepitude of age: I see Time dried up
“ and trembling, who being come to his utmost
“ limit is seated on a withered trunk: and while
“ I perceive the hearts in every breast agitated
“ by the trumpets of the angels, I see Life and
“ Death overwhelmed by the horrible confusion;
“ for the former is labouring to resuscitate the
“ dead, the latter is preparing to overthrow the
“ living. I see Hope and Despair conducting
“ the ranks of the good and the crowds of the
“ wicked: I see the theatre of clouds coloured
“ by the rays proceeding from the pure fires of
“ heaven, upon which Christ is seated among his
“ hosts, surrounded by splendour and by terrors.
“ I see his face glitter; and darting out fiery
“ sparks of a light delightful and terrible, he
“ fills the righteous with joy, the wicked with
“ alarm. Meanwhile I see the ministers of the
“ abyss, who with horrid look, with the glory of
“ saints and martyrs, make game of the Cæsars
“ and the Alexanders, telling them how conquest
“ over self differs from conquest of the world.
“ I see Fame with her crowns and her palms
“ under foot, tossed aside amidst the wheels of
“ her chariots. Finally, I see the great sentence
“ issuing from the mouth of the Son of God. I
“ see it in the form of two rays, one of salvation,

“ and the other of damnation; and as I trace
“ them flying downward, I perceive their fury
“ impinge upon the elemental frame, and with
“ tremendous thunderings dissipate and dissolve
“ it. I see the lights of paradise, and the furnaces of the abyss, dividing the darkness which
“ has fallen upon the face of the air; so that the
“ thought, which represents to my imagination
“ the destruction of the Last Day, says to me, If
“ we tremble and are afraid in contemplating the
“ work of Buonarrotti, how shall we tremble
“ and be afraid when we shall behold ourselves
“ judged by him, who ought to judge us!”^m
The sublimity of conception which raised these terrific images, will excuse the introduction of this passage, and the insufficiency of the translation. The Last Judgment, impossible as it seems to be conceived by mortal thought, has at least met with two masters, who have placed it sensibly before us, and in some measure brought it down to the level of our imaginations.

We may be allowed to pause a little upon this painting, as it is perhaps the most wonderful specimen of the art in the world. I mean, the most surprising monument of genius and imagination: for unless we confound the ideas of the beautiful and the sublime, and conceive that the former is always contained in the latter, it must be acknowledged, that many other paintings are more pleasing at the first view. Salvator Rosa in one

^m Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 59.

of his Satires indulged himself in a pun, which not inaptly criticizes the work,

Michel Angelo mio, non parlo in giuoco,
Questo che dipingete è un gran Giudizio,
Ma del giudizio voi n'avete poco.

But notwithstanding the ridiculous way, in which some part of the subject is treated, and the mixture of sacred and profane history throughout, this work of M. Angelo will surprise and please more and more every time that it is examined. It will perhaps be more admired when considered in single groups, than as a whole. It has often been remarked, that M. Angelo was indebted for the conception of some of his figures to the poem of Dante.

There is an amusing story told concerning a figure, which was intended as a portrait of a certain master of the ceremonies, who had complained to the Pope of the indecency of the painting.^a His name was Biagio of Cesena: the painting was not quite finished when he made this complaint, and M. Angelo introduced his portrait as a Demon with ass's ears, encircled with a large serpent, and placed him in hell. Biagio again complained, and the Pope requested the painter to release him. M. Angelo replied, that had he been only in purgatory, it might have been possible, but from hell there was no redemption.

^a Vid. Salvator Rosa, Sat. iii. p. 84.

Pius IV. being offended with so many of the figures being naked, ordered Daniel da Volterra to remove the objection, who from this circumstance was called *Brachettone*. Paul IV. had mentioned the objection to M. Angelo himself, but he would not make any alteration: "Reform the world," said he, "and the picture will reform itself." Stefano Pozzi completed the covering by order of Clement XIII. It seems that the Catholics were alarmed, lest the Lutherans should make the indecency of the paintings at Rome an objection to the Roman tenets.^o

After all, we see this sublime work in the most disadvantageous manner: it is now more than two centuries and a half since it was completed, and the action of damp united with the smoke from the incense and the candles has thrown a great obscurity over the whole. In the present age we may perhaps be allowed to regret, that the great masters painted so much in fresco. M. Angelo was accustomed to say, that painting in oils was an occupation for women: so convinced was he of the greater difficulty and merit of executing works in fresco. He confirmed this observation by his practice; and though he unquestionably amused himself occasionally with oils, it is asserted upon the best authority,^p that there is not one undisputed oil-painting of his

^o Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 57.

^p Lanzi, vol. i. p. 140, &c.

in existence. Many are exhibited, as laying claim to this honour, which perhaps were executed by his pupils, and may have received some touches from the master himself. Whatever may be the comparative merits of the two arts, we have evidently suffered by fresco painting being preferred: for while we have pictures in oils by Leonardo da Vinci, Raffael, and others contemporary with M. Angelo, the colours of which seem as fresh as when they were first laid on, (and perhaps more pleasing in the effect,) those which were painted upon the wall have in a great part perished, and the rest are daily becoming more indistinct; so that unless this new discovery of detaching frescos from the wall can preserve such works, our descendants will be enabled to judge of these great efforts only by copies and engravings. It might be thought, that the ancients mixed their colours for painting upon plaister better than the moderns, at least that they were more durable. Pliny⁹ mentions some paintings still existing at Ardea, Cære, and Lanuvium, which were older than the foundation of Rome; and had received little or no injury, though in a ruined building, and exposed to the air. This would give them an antiquity of 800 years and upwards.

The Pauline Chapel, which is near the Sistine, was erected by Paul III. about 1540, with designs

⁹ Lib. xxxv. c. 6.

of Antonio San Gallo. This also is used only on great festivals. The holy Sacrament is always kept there, and the popes were formerly created in it: but that ceremony is now performed in the Sistine Chapel. The walls are painted in fresco; and two of the subjects, the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Crucifixion of St. Peter, are by Michel Angelo: they were nearly his last works; but they have suffered so much, and there is so little light, that it is difficult to make out any design at all.

These two chapels are connected by the *Sala Regia*, which was built by Antonio San Gallo, and painted first by Perino del Vaga, and afterwards by Vasari and other painters. These paintings may be interesting to a zealous Catholic; but a phlegmatic Protestant, who prefers authentic history to traditions of the church, will look at them only with a smile. They almost all relate to some circumstance which tended to exalt the holy see; but the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day might as well have been omitted. It was painted by Vasari during the Pontificate of Gregory XIII. who had also a medal struck to commemorate the slaughter of the Hugonots.

The *Loggie di Raffaello* are, as I mentioned, three open galleries, one above the other, which go round three sides of a square court. The building was finished upon the designs of Raffael, having been begun by Bramante; and in the middle gallery the ceiling of one side is

painted entirely after designs of Raffael. He employed in the work several of his pupils, Giulio Romano, Pierin del Vaga, Polidoro, and Maturino da Caravaggio, &c. &c. The ceiling is divided into thirteen compartments, each of which contains four paintings. All the subjects are taken from the Old Testament, and some are by Raffael himself. In the first compartment, which contains the creation, God dividing light from darkness is by him, and much admired. But surely this is a subject too sublime for the greatest human genius. Raffael probably chose it, because Michel Angelo had represented the same subject on the roof of the Sistine Chapel. The two last paintings in this series, the Baptism of Jesus, and the Last Supper, are also by Raffael.

The walls are covered with Arabesques, which are also after the designs of Raffael: and he is said to have borrowed them from the baths of Titus, which were excavated in his days. But the story which is added, of his covering up the excavations as soon as he had finished his copies, in order that the imitation might be concealed, is one which few would believe, except on the most undeniable evidence. I have already attempted to prove the falsehood of it in a former part of this work: and it may be added, that it would have been impossible for Raffael to have had the praise of originality, even if he had wished it, as similar paintings had been discovered in exca-

vations at Tivoli, Pozzuoli, and other places. The *Loggie* were painted between the years 1513 and 1521.

The *Camere di Raffaello* are a series of rooms, mostly painted by that great master, and contain some of the most valuable works which he has left. These too are all in fresco, and have suffered considerably from time. The subjects of them are well known by the engravings of Volpato. Julius II. commenced the decoration of these rooms, and employed as painters Pietro della Francesca, Bramantino da Milano, Luca da Cortona, Pietro della Gatta, and Pietro Perugino. The latter, as is well known, was Raffael's master: and by his recommendation, as well as that of Bramante, who was related to him, Raffael was called from Florence to Rome in the year 1508, when he was 25 years of age. Some make him not to have gone to Rome till 1510.^r He was first employed in the Camera della Segnatura, and finished what is generally called the Dispute upon the Sacrament. The Pope was so astonished and delighted with this effort, that he ordered all which was done by the other artists to be destroyed, that all the rooms might be painted by Raffael. It is said, that he received for each large painting 1,200 crowns of gold. He, however, spared the work of his master Perugino, which is still to be seen upon the ceiling of the fourth room in this series.

^r Vid. Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 53.

The first room is not painted by Raffael, as he did not live to complete it. It is called the hall of Constantine, from a large painting of the victory of that Emperor over Maxentius. Raffael had finished the design, and prepared to paint it upon the wall in oils, when he died. It was then finished chiefly by Giulio Romano, who, preferring to work in fresco, destroyed all that his master had done, except two figures of Justice and Benignity, which were already finished. The head of S. Urban also, who is one of the eight popes painted in this room, is by Raffael. The other seven figures are S. Peter, S. Clement, S. Gregory, S. Damasus, S. Leo I. S. Silvester, and S. Alexander I. The painting of the Appearance of the Cross to Constantine is also said to be by Giulio Romano. The other two walls are painted by celebrated artists.

The second room contains the story of Heliodorus, taken from the third chapter of the second Book of Maccabees. The whole design is allowed to be by Raffael; but some say, that it was painted wholly or in part by Giulio Romano. Bellori however says, that it is all by Raffael. The date of 1514 is upon it; and yet Fea, in his description of the Vatican, says, that it was executed previous to 1512; from whence he argues, that it could hardly be the work of Giulio Romano, who was not then twenty years old. Julius II. is intended to be represented by the figure carried on a chair. This Pontiff boasted to be the libe-

rator of the church, and the restorer of its property. The secretary in front, who is one of the supporters, is Marc-Antonio Raimondi, a pupil of Raffael and an engraver: following him is another secretary, with this inscription, J. Pietro de Folariis Cremonens.

On the wall opposite to this is S. Leo I. going out to meet Attila, and S. Peter and S. Paul appearing in the sky. S. Leo is a portrait of Leo X. the then reigning Pontiff, and allusion was probably intended to his having dispossessed Louis XII. of the states of Milan, and in fact driven him out of Italy. There is also another portrait of Leo as a cardinal: from which it is inferred, that the painting was commenced in the reign of Julius II. and finished in that of Leo X. Not far from the pope are three officers on horseback: the one in red, upon a white horse, is intended for Pietro Perugino. A building in the back-ground looks like the Colosseum; but as this scene took place near the river Mincius, it could hardly be meant for it; though the great painters were not particularly scrupulous in combining such incongruities.

On one of the other sides is the Miracle of Bolsena, which consisted in a priest being convinced of transubstantiation by drops of blood appearing when he broke the wafer.* It was

* Whoever wishes to read an account of similar miracles may consult Bellarmin. de Eucharist. lib. iii. c. 8.

painted in 1512, and Julius II. is introduced with some Cardinals.

Opposite to this is the Liberation of St. Peter from prison. In this an allusion was intended to the liberation of Leo X. then Cardinal, after the battle of Ravenna. It is deserving of remark in this painting, that there are four different lights introduced. The date is 1514. The ceiling of this room, which has suffered considerably, is also by Raffael.

The third room, called *La Camera della Segnatura*, was painted entirely by Raffael. This was the first apartment in which he was employed; and the first painting is that which is generally called the Dispute upon the Sacrament. This title is probably erroneous: and as there are on the ceiling figures of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence, and the paintings under each correspond to these figures, it would seem more appropriate to call this, which was his first performance, Theology. The four Doctors of the Latin Church, Gregory, Jerom, Ambrose, and Augustin, are introduced in it, together with other divines, an altar with the Eucharist, and in the Heavens the Trinity and various saints. This bears marks of Raffael's early style, and will not please so much as the others. Our Saviour and the Saints have glories round their heads laid on in gold. Critics have discovered, that he began on the right-hand side of the wall; and they observe a manifest improvement in the style during

the progress of the painting. It is also interesting from some portraits, which he has introduced. In a groupe of three figures, that which is leaning on a marble parapet, with his right hand upon an open book, is Bramante. At the right-hand corner are two figures, and several heads behind them: one of these heads represents Dante[†] in profile with a wreath of laurel, and near him St. Thomas Aquinas, and Scotus. Not far off is Savonarola, also in profile, and dressed in black.

Opposite to Theology is Philosophy, or, as it is generally called, the School of Athens. Vasari erroneously styles it the Agreement of Philosophy and Astronomy with Theology. This painting has suffered like the rest; but it is still sufficiently perfect to command universal admiration. Archimedes, who is tracing with compasses on a tablet, is Bramante: the young man near to him, with his left knee upon the ground, who is looking back, and showing the figure to his companion, is Frederick II. Duke of Mantua. The two figures to the left of Zoroaster, who may be known by the globe in his hand, are Raffaël himself and his master Perugino. A youth in a white mantle, with his hand in his breast, by the side of Pythagoras, is Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, and great nephew to Julius II. The original cartoon of this painting is in the Ambro-

[†] The portrait prefixed to the splendid edition of Dante printed at Rome in 1815-7, is copied from this painting.

sian Library at Milan. There is an old engraving of it by Georgio Mantovano, which was retouched by Tomosino, and converted into St. Paul preaching at Athens. Tomosino added a glory and a diadem to Plato and Aristotle. It was also engraved in 1524 by Agostino Veneziano, who transformed Pythagoras into St. Mark, and the youth, who is stooping down with the tablet, into an Angel with the Salutation.

Poetry is represented by Mount Parnassus, on which are Apollo, the Muses, and various poets. Behind Homer is a portrait of Dante in profile: he is following Virgil, dressed in a red mantle, with a cap crowned with laurel. Another head, crowned with laurel, near to Virgil, is supposed to be Raffael himself. Beneath these, and in front, is Sappho, holding in her left hand a volume inscribed with her name. She is turning towards a groupe of four figures, of which the woman with flowing hair, in conversation with a man and pointing to Homer, is intended for Corinna; and it is supposed that the two figures are intended for Petrarch and Laura. The figure in front, dressed in yellow, whose face is not shown, is Ovid. On the left, corresponding with Sappho, is Pindar: in front of him is Horace. Another, with his finger on his mouth, is probably Callimachus. Behind them is Sanazzaro, without a beard. Two figures crowned with laurel are Tebaldeo and Boccaccio: the latter has no beard,

and his hands are hid in his dress. This was painted in 1511.

To represent Jurisprudence, Justinian is drawn giving the Digests to Tribonian, and Gregory IX. presenting the Decretals to a Consistory. The Decretals were published in five books, by Raimond de Pennafort, in 1234, at the command of Gregory IX. and may be considered as the foundation of that code of canon law, which the Church of Rome has acted upon ever since. They form a collection of the Decrees of Councils, and the Rescripts or Decretal Epistles of Popes to questions propounded upon emergent doubts relative to matters of discipline and ecclesiastical ceremony.^u For a long time a spurious Collection of Decretals was received by the Romish Church, which was said to have been made by Isidore of Hispala, who lived in the seventh century. But it has been proved, that the whole collection could not have been made by him: and all the Decretals from Clement I. to Siricius, who was Pope in 384, are now acknowledged to be forgeries.^x The Pope himself is a portrait of Julius II.; near to him are John Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., Antonio Cardinal del Monti, Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III.

^u Hallam's Middle Ages, c. 7.

^x A treatise has been written upon the subject by David Blondel, entitled *Pseudo-Isidorus*.

The fourth room, which was painted about 1517, contains subjects taken from the lives of those popes who bore the same name with the reigning pontiff. The principal painting is the Fire of Borgo S. Pietro, which took place under the Pontificate of S. Leo IV. in the year 817. Borgo S. Pietro is that suburb of Rome which lies near St. Peter's: the fire came near the Vatican, and Leo extinguished it miraculously with the sign of the cross. The front of old St. Peter's is introduced, with steps leading up to it, and the balcony for the papal benediction. This painting is by many admired as much as any of the series: for delineation of feeling and anatomical accuracy it certainly merits every attention. The latter excellence may be seen particularly in two figures, one of whom is clinging by his hands to a wall, from which he is letting himself down, the other is drawing himself up: in both of which opposite exertions of the muscles great accuracy of drawing is observed. The groupe of the man carrying off his father is by Giulio Romano.

Opposite to this is the Justification of S. Leo III. before Charlemagne; in which the Pope is a portrait of Leo X. and Charlemagne of Francis I. King of France. On one of the other sides is the Victory gained by Leo IV. over the Saracens at Ostia, painted by Giovanni da Udine; opposite to which is the Coronation of Charlemagne, by S. Leo, III. in the old cathedral: this was

painted by Pierino del Vaga. The ceiling is by Perugino.

Other parts of the room contain paintings of those Princes who have been benefactors to the Holy See. Over one of them is written, "Astulphus Rex sub Leone IV. Pont. Britanniam Beato Petro vectigalem facit." S. Leo IV. reigned from 847 to 855, during which time Ethelwolf was King of England.^y Hume tells us, that he made a journey to Rome, and gave 300 *mancuses*^z a year to the See of Rome. One third of this was to support the lamps of St. Peter's; another third those of St. Paul's; and the remaining third was to go to the Pope himself.^a Some writers say, that it was Ethelwolf who agreed at this visit to pay the tribute to the See of Rome, which was called Peter's Pence, and which was continued till the time of Henry VIII. The inscription in the Vatican seems to agree with this: but others contend, that the payment of Peter's Pence was established in the reign of Ina in 725.^b Over another figure in this room is "*Dei non hominum est Episcopos judicare.*"

^y His name has been Latinized in various ways,—Athulfus, Odulfus, Aithulfus, &c.

^z A *mancus* is about half a crown.

^a William of Malmesbury, lib. ii. c. 2.

^b Mat. Westmon. ad an. 727. Ina travelled to Rome, and founded a school and church there for his countrymen: to support which he imposed the payment of a penny upon

These figures are said to have suffered, when Rome was pillaged in 1527. Carlo Maratta was employed by Clement XI. to restore them, as well as to clean all the rest. Some of the heads were restored by Sebastiano del Piombo; and an anecdote is told of Titian, who, going to view these paintings in company with Sebastiano himself, asked him who that presumptuous and ignorant person could be, who had daubed over those faces.^c

The rooms adjoining to these contain the tapestries, for which Raffael painted the Cartoons now in Hampton Court: there are also other tapestries, from designs by Raffael, the originals of which are probably lost. Leo X. had them executed at Arras, in Flanders; a place famous for its manufacture of tapestry, and which has given a name to it. The original designs were twelve in number, from which two sets of tapestries were executed. The cost was 60,000 or 70,000 gold crowns. One set was hung up in the apartments of the Vatican, from whence they were carried off when Rome was plundered by the Spanish army in 1527: but Montmorenci, the French general, found them, and restored them to the Pope. The one which represents Elymas struck blind by St.

every family, which was called Romescot; but this tax could only have been laid upon his subjects of Wessex. The East Saxons were subjected to the same payment by Offa, in 793.

^c Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 284.

Paul, returned much mutilated. They were carried away again in 1798, when the French army entered Rome; and some time afterwards, were found in the possession of a Jew in Paris, who had burnt two of them for the sake of the gold and silver which they contained. The remaining ten were purchased by Pius VII. and may now be seen in their original station in the Vatican. The other set of tapestries was sent as a present by Leo X. to Henry VIII. and hung up in the banqueting room at Whitehall; though some say, that Henry purchased them from the Venetians. When Charles I. was beheaded, these tapestries were sold with the rest of the royal collection, and purchased by the Spanish ambassador, who sent them to Spain. From thence, nine of them have again found their way into England, and are now in the possession of a private individual. The original Cartoons remained in Flanders, till they were purchased by Rubens for Charles I. and were placed in the Gallery at Hampton Court by William III.: but of the original twelve, only seven are now known to be in existence.

For the sake of regularity, I shall now quit this part of the Vatican, and descend to the apartments of the statues. The entrance is by a long gallery, in the walls of which are let in a variety of ancient inscriptions in Latin and Greek. The length of this gallery is about 331 yards. The inscriptions on the left hand are mostly relating to the early Christians. Among those of the

ancient Romans, few points are more striking than the gross mistakes in grammar and orthography which are to be found in many of the epitaphs. Some of those which are in verse bid equal defiance to the laws of metre. A great proportion of these epitaphs relate to freedmen, and such persons whose names prove them to be of Greek origin; and some of the mistakes are such as a Greek, who had learnt the Latin language imperfectly, would be likely to make. A copy of some of these inscriptions may perhaps afford amusement.

DIIS MANIBVS
 CLAVDIAE. PISTES
 PRIMVS. CONIVGI
 OPTVMAE. SANCTAE
 ET. PIAE. BENEMERITAE
 NON. AEQVOS. PARCAE. STATVISTIS. STAMINA. VITAE
 TAM BENE. COMPOSITOS. POTVISTIS. SEDE. TENERE
 AMISSA. EST. CONIVNX. CVR. EGO. ET. IPSE. MOROR
 SI. FELIX. ESSEM. PISTE. MEA. VIVERE. DEBVIT
 TRISTIA. CONTIGERVN. QVI. AMISSO. CONIVGE. VIVO
 NIL. EST. TAM. MISERVVM. QUAM. TOTAM. PERDERE. VITAM
 NEC. VITAE. NASCI. DVRA. PEREGISTIS. CRVDELIA. PENSE. SORORES
 RVPTAQVE. DEFICIUNT. IN. PRIMO. MVNERE. FVSI
 O. NIMIS. INIVSTAE. TER. DENOS. DARE. MVNVS. IN. ANNOS
 DECEPTVS. GRAVVS. FATVM. SIC. PRESSIT. EGESTAS
 DVM. VITAM. TVLERO. PRIMVS. PISTES. LVGEA. CONIVGIVM

D.

M.

OTTEDIAE. ZMYRNAE. CONIVG. B. M. Q. V. ANN. XVI

M. VIII. C. SALVIVS. ABASCANTVS. FECIT. ET SIBI. ET

SVIS. POSTERISQVE. EORVM

HIC IACEO INFELIX ZMYRNA PVELLA TENEBRIS

QVAE ANNOS AETATIS AGENS SEX ET DECEMENSIBVS OCTO

AMISI LVCEM ANIMAM ET RAPVERVNT FATA INIQVA

CASTIOR VT PROBIOR SERVATIO VLLA MARITO

TE PRECOR HOC QVI RELEGES SIPI⁴AS HABET VLL⁴LOCVM⁴

SIC SIMILE TITVLVM⁴AL⁴TIS NON SCRIBERET OSSIS

DISCEDENS DIC ZMYRNA ~~Q~~E ITERVM TERET

IN ~~AN~~TE

TV. NE. VELLIS. ALIENA. MEMBRA

INQVITARE. IACENTIS. DOLIES

COMPARABIT. SIBI. QVOD. SINO

CVERIS. NOCEBERIS. AB. ALIO

NOMEN QVI RETINES TV

MAGNVS ALEXANDER

PALLADOS INVENTVM

MEDICINALEMQVE LABOREM

QVOT FECI STVDIO PRO

XIMVS IPSE MEO

TESTOR NVNC SVPEROS NON

HOC MERVISSE VIDEBAR

⁴ I presume this is meant for SI PIETAS HABET VLLA LOCVM.

INVOLVENS CENORIS QVOT
 SVBITO DCCIDIMVS
 INVNC ET DVBIAS FATORVM
 NECLEGE CLADES
 CONIVNX QVOD POTVIT TIBI
 TVM MIHI REDDIDIT VNI

VITRIA. PHRYNE. VIXIT. TERSENOS. ANNOS
 CARA. MEIS. VIXI. SVBITO FATALE. RAPINA
 FLORENTIEM. VITA. SVSTVLIT. ATRA. DIES
 OC. TVMVLO. NVNC. SVM. CINERES. SIMVL. NAMQVE. SACRATI
 PER. MATREM. CARAM. SVNT. POSITIQVE. MEI
 QVOS. PIVS. SAEPE. COLIT. FRATER. CONIVNXQVE. PUELLAE
 ATQVE. OBITVM. NOSTRUM. FLETIBVS. VSQVE. LVGENT
 DI. MANES ME VNVM RETINETE. VT. VIVERE. POSSINT
 QVOS. SEMPER. COLVI. VIVA. LIBENTE. ANIMO
 VT. SINT. QVI. CINERES. NOSTROS. BENE FLORIBVS. SERTI
 SAEPE. ORNENT. DICAT. SIT. MIHI. TERRA. LEVIS

CLAVDIAE LAIDI VXORI
 CVM QVA VIXI ANN XXIII
 CLAVDIAE STVRE HELENE
 VXORICVMQVEMVIVOAB
 INFANTIA SINE CONTVMELIAS
 ANN XXXIII
 TI CLAVDIVS
 PANNYCHVS. CVM
 INSCRIBEREM. ARAM
 HABVI ANN LXXXVI

From a stone containing the names of several trades, I copied these:

EXONERATOR CALCARIUS	A remover of rubbish : a scavenger.
HOLITOR.	A green-grocer.
MAGISTER ADARIARIVS A MINERVA MEDICA	
CAESARIS PRAESIGNATOR.	Imperial notary.*
PISTOR MAGNARIUS PEPSIANVS	A wholesale baker.
NEGOTIANTI VINARIO ITEM	A wine merchant.
NAVICVLARIO CVR. CORPORIS MARIS HADRIATICI.	Boatman, commissioner of the Adriatic sea company.
INVITATOR.	An agent.
NVMVLARIVS.	Banker.
LANIO.	Butcher.
MEDICVS IVMENTARIVS	Farrier and cow-leech.
MARMORARIVS.	Stone-mason.

Lampridius informs us that the Emperor Alexander Severus formed all the trades into companies.

In the continuation of this gallery, which contains several statues, &c. the one most deserving of attention is Tiberius sitting, found at Piperno, and very perfect. After entering the Museo Pio-Clementino, the first object of much interest is the tomb of C. L. Scipio Barbatus, which together with several others was brought here from

* Vide Ducange.

the tomb of the Scipios. The inscription upon it has been given in vol. i. p. 279.

In the same room is the Torso di Belvedere, so much esteemed by Michel Angelo, and all succeeding sculptors. Little more than the mere trunk is remaining; but even without being a sculptor, it is impossible not to admire the execution. It seems to have been a Hercules, and the name of the sculptor, Apollonius, son of Nestor, an Athenian, still remains. Winkelmann is enthusiastic in its praise, and thinks that it comes nearer to the sublime than the Apollo Belvedere. He considers the figure to have been sitting, with the left^f arm over the head, and in a state of repose after labour. Visconti does not agree with this opinion; but conceives that Hercules had his arm round some other figure: and Flaxman has designed a groupe according to this idea. Winkelmann places Apollonius among the sculptors who lived after the time of Alexander:^s and the form of the ω in the inscription has led others to refer this statue to the last days of the Roman Republic. The Torso was found in the Campo di Fiora.

The first statue we come to of any celebrity is a Meleager, formerly in the Palazzo Pighini. The left hand is wanting, but otherwise it is very

^f Winkelmann says the right arm, but he evidently meant the left, as is pointed out by Visconti.

^s Lib. vi. c. 4. § 50.

perfect. On the right of the figure is a dog, on the left a boar's head. It was found on the Janiculum, outside of the Porta Portese. The hand, which is broken off, may have held a hunting-horn. This is the case with a Meleager in the Giustiniani collection, which has the other appendages of the boar's head and dog, like this in the Vatican. Or perhaps there was a spear in the left hand, the extremity of which may still be seen on the plinth.

Outside of the window is a stone with twelve sides, on each of which the name of a wind is written in Greek and Latin. It was found in the Baths of Titus. There is one also at Gaeta: and two others have been described by Paciardi^b and Foggini.^c To which we may add the Temple of the Winds or Tower of Cyrrhestes at Athens, of which Stuart has given many engravings in his first volume. Different opinions were entertained by the ancients as to the number and names of the winds. Some made them only eight; but in general they were considered to be twelve. It would appear from the names, that the Greeks first raised the number to twelve, and that the Romans either translated some of them, or applied local names, which in some cases has caused confusion. The ancient authors who have treated upon the subject, and given us the names of the

^b Monum. Pelop. tom. i. § 7. p. 215.

^c P. 173 and 408.

winds, are, Pliny,^k Seneca,^l Aul. Gellius,^m Vitruvius,ⁿ Vegetius,^o and Strabo.^p Beside the testimony of these writers, we have the Tower of Cyrrhestes at Athens, spoken of above, on the eight sides of which the names of eight winds are engraved. A. Gellius also gives the names of only eight winds, but he does not agree with the tower at Athens, as may be seen by the following table:

ATHENS.	A. GELLIUS.
N. . . <i>Boreas</i> . ^q	Septentrio, <i>Aparctias</i> .
NE. . . <i>Cæcias</i> . . .	Aquilo, <i>Boreas</i> .
E. . . <i>Apheliotes</i> .	Eurus, Subsolanus, <i>Apheliotes</i> .
SE. . . <i>Eurus</i> . . .	Vulturnus, <i>Euronotus</i> .
S. . . <i>Notus</i> . . .	Auster, <i>Notus</i> .
SW. . . <i>Lybs</i>	Africus, <i>Lybs</i> .
W. . . <i>Zephyrus</i> .	Favonius, <i>Zephyrus</i> .
NW. . . <i>Sciron</i> . . .	Caurus, <i>Argestes</i> .

Different countries undoubtedly used different terms, or affixed different significations to the same term; and since Pliny tells us that *Sciron* was a name known only at Athens, and that the wind so called was very little different from the *Argestes*, we need not be surprised that the tower at Athens and the Roman author do not exactly

^k Lib. ii. c. 46. ^l Nat. Quæst. lib. v. c. 16. ^m Lib. ii. c. 22.

ⁿ Lib. i. c. 6. ^o De Re Mil. lib. iv. c. 38. ^p Lib. i.

^q In this account of the winds, I mean all those words which are in Italics to stand for the Greek terms.

agree. Vitruvius also only recognises eight winds; but I have not included him in the above comparison, because he tells us, that he follows the tower of Cyrrhestes, and the only difference is, that he substitutes the Latin for the Greek names.

Pliny, Seneca, and Vegetius, all agree in making twelve winds: they also agree in their manner of dividing the heavens. They divide the East and West each into three points, according to the direction in which the sun rises and sets in the summer and winter solstices, and at the equinox.^r They also divide the North and South each into three points, but do not give any name to the two which are on either side of the North and South. With respect to the names of the winds that blow from each of these points, they do not exactly agree. The annexed scheme represents the circle divided according to their system; to each of which divisions I have affixed

^r The Equinoxes and Solstices were fixed on the 8th Calends of April, July, October, and January: i. e. the Vernal Equinox happened on the 25th of March, the Autumnal on the 24th of September; the Summer Solstice on the 24th of June, and the Winter Solstice on the 25th of September. The primitive Christian Church observed the same rule: and since these four days correspond respectively with the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Conception of S. John the Baptist, the Nativity of the same S. John, and the Nativity of our Lord, it seems most natural to suppose that the festivals were purposely adapted to these particular days.

the name of the wind, with its Greek and Latin term. Where the authors differ with one another, I have followed the majority: but I have taken no notice of Strabo, because he contradicts all the rest, and must evidently be wrong. He places *Eurus* at ENE; *Apheliotes* at ESE; *Zephyrus* at WNW; and *Argestes* at WSW. Nor can we suppose his text to be corrupt, because he mentions Aristotle, Timosthenes, and Bio as differing from him; and the names which they give are placed exactly as they are by the writers quoted above.

We find other names of winds occurring in ancient authors, which were peculiar to certain countries, such as

Altanus, to the W. of S. (Vitruvius.)

Atabulus. Apulia. (Seneca and Pliny.)

Carbas: nearly E. (Vitruvius.)

Catægis. Pamphylia. (Seneca.)

Circius. Gaul. (Seneca, Pliny, A. Gellius.)

Vegetius puts it at NWN.

Euroclydon. It is mentioned only in Acts, xxvii.

14. The Vulgate reads Euroaquoilo.

Iapyx. Calabria. (Seneca.) Apulia. (A. Gellius; who says that it is nearly the same as Caurus.) Vegetius makes it WNW. as he does Favonius.

Meses, between *Boreas* and *Cæcias*. (Pliny.)

Olympias, nearly the same as Sciron. (Pliny.)

Onchesmites. SW. from Onchesmus, a town of Epirus. (Cicero ad Att. lib. vii. ep. 2.)

Sciron. Athens. (Tower of Cyrrhestes, Seneca. Pliny tells us, that it is nearly the same as *Argestes*: and so A. Gellius makes it.)

Subvesperus. S. of W. (Vitruvius.)

The room, which has caused this digression, leads into an octagonal court, filled with statues, bas-reliefs, marble pillars, immense baths of granite, porphyry, &c. which are all interesting, but contain nothing peculiarly worth mentioning. In some of the bas-reliefs the battle between Theseus and the Amazons is described; in which it will be observed, that those warlike dames have not submitted to the operation which is generally said to have given them their name. The same may be observed throughout the frieze containing the same subject, among the Phigalian marbles in the British Museum. Mitford, in his *History of Greece*,* has a judicious note upon the story of the Amazons: he says, “that Amazon was a Greek name signifying *breastless*, appears to have been a late and an unfounded imagination.” He also remarks, that Herodotus calls these women *Amazonids*,† thus implying, that he

* Vol. x. p. 400.

† *Ἀμαζόνιδες*, lib. ix. c. 27: we find *Amazonidum* in Propertius, lib. iii. el. 14, 13.

considered the name Amazon as applicable to men equally as to women. This latter remark, however, does not contain so much force as it appears to do. For though Herodotus uses the term *Amazonids* in this place, yet every where else he calls them as usual *Amazons*, and evidently considers them as women.^u It is singular that Hippocrates adopts the usual etymology of the word Amazon.^x

Out of this court are the rooms containing the most celebrated statues. In the first are three modern ones by Canova. They were placed here while the ancient ones were at Paris; and since the restoration of the latter they have not been removed. Standing thus by the side of the noblest works of ancient sculpture, they must necessarily challenge a comparison. In the *Perseus*, which is the finest of the three, some imitation of the Belvedere Apollo may perhaps be observed. The other two are Creugas and Damoxenus, of whom the following story, as related by Pausanias,^y is perhaps necessary to understand their attitudes. Creugas and Damoxenus, two noted pugilists, the former of Dyrrachium, the latter of Syracuse, had fought all day without

^u E. g. lib. iv. c. 110.

^x Galen. Comm. in Aphorism. 43. § 7. Hippocr. de Aquis, &c. c. 42. This subject is discussed by Bryant, Mythol. vol. iii. p. 457: and by Freret, Mem. Acad. vol. xxi. p. 106.

^y Lib. ii.

coming to any decision. They at length agreed that each should stand to receive the blow of the other, in whatever part it might come. Creugas accordingly let his fist fall upon the head of his antagonist. Damoxenus then told him to keep his hand still; and running at him with the fingers of his own hand stretched out, he thrust them into his side, and drew them out again, followed by the bowels of his rival. Creugas immediately died; but the prize was adjudged to him, and Damoxenus was banished.

In these two figures there is vast force of expression, but it is not pleasing, and the attitude of one of them seems very unnatural. The colour of these statues cannot fail to be observed: it is noticed in all Canova's works, and he is said to use some preparation, to take off from the fresh appearance of the marble. The ancients seem to have had some custom of this kind. Vitruvius tells us,² that a preparation of wax and oil was laid upon the statues in a liquid state with a brush; when the marble was thus covered, fire was applied to it, and afterwards it was rubbed with tallow (*candela*) and linen. But he does not say whether this was done to give a brightness to new statues or to repolish old ones. Pliny certainly says,³ that when the statues were finished they were rubbed over with a stone called *Naxos* (because it was prepared at Naxos in Crete, but

² Lib. vii. c. 9.

³ Lib. xxxvi. c. 7.

it came from Cyprus). Afterwards, emery and tripoli were used; and last of all, the instrument was passed over the whole of them.

In the other room is the Belvedere Antinous, though some have lately changed its name to Mercury without much reason. The wings, the Caduceus, and every other emblem of Mercury, are wanting. The countenance also certainly resembles that which is usually given to Antinous. If this notion be correct, we may fairly cite this statue, as a proof that the arts were still flourishing, and that there were sculptors almost equal to any of their predecessors in the time of Hadrian. In fact, we know that the arts, which had languished and were fast approaching to decay under the preceding emperors, experienced a temporary revival under Trajan and Hadrian. The latter in particular encouraged architecture and sculpture through the whole of his dominions. Athens was embellished by him with splendid edifices, and sculpture once more found a congenial soil in Greece. Though we may ridicule or pity him for raising statues to Antinous as a god, yet there is no doubt that great encouragement must have been given to talent, in attempting to please the emperor by representations of his favourite. The Villa at Tivoli and the Mausoleum at Rome were of themselves enough to call forth genius: and the accounts we have of them, as well as the actual remains, show that the call was obeyed.

With respect to Antinous, of whom so many busts are in existence, we know that he was a native of Bithynia. He died A.D. 129, being drowned in the Nile, and it was believed, that he offered himself a voluntary sacrifice for Hadrian. For that emperor, having consulted the Augurs, was told, that he should learn his destiny in the entrails of a victim, which was dearest to him. Upon which Antinous offered himself, and was drowned in the Nile. Hadrian built a city on the spot, and called it after the name of his favourite: his statues and busts were spread in every country, and divine honours were very generally paid to him.^b

The celebrated Visconti thought the statue to be a Mercury: and Addison tells us, that he had seen a gem, which represented Antinous in the habit of Mercury;^c so that both notions may be correct. It has also been called Meleager, and was found near the Church of S. Martino, upon the Esquiline hill, in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Paul III. and not in the Mausoleum of Hadrian, as some have said. It is a most beautiful statue, but the right arm and left hand are wanting.

^b A Treatise has been written upon the worship of Antinous by Riencourt, where all the places are mentioned, where it was introduced, and the authors who make any mention of it. Vide Dio, lib. lxxix. Spartianus, Aurelius Victor, Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 8.

^c He appears also as Apollo, Bacchus, Osiris, Harpocrates.

The Laocoon occupies another apartment.

This wonderful groupe astonishes more and more upon every inspection; and though not so pleasing as the Apollo, it will perhaps be considered a more surprising effort in a sculptor to have produced the Laocoon. It was found in the baths of Titus during the pontificate of Julius II. and some account of it may be seen in an original letter still extant from Cesare Trivulzio to Pomponio Trivulzio, dated July 1506.^d The place of its discovery seems clearly to identify it with that which is described by Pliny.^e He represents the whole groupe as being cut out of one block, and gives it the pre-eminence over every other work of sculpture. His words are these: "There are
" many sculptors, whose fame is less generally
" spread, because the number of artists employed
" made against their celebrity in great works; for
" there is no one person to enjoy the renown, and
" where there are more than one, they cannot all
" obtain an equal name: as for instance in the
" Laocoon, which is in the palace of the Emperor
" Titus, a work which may be preferred to all
" others either in painting or statuary. The
" whole was made out of one block, the father,
" his children, and the wonderful folds of the ser-
" pents, according to a vote of the council, by
" Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rho-

^d Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 321.

^e Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

“dian Sculptors of the first rank.” Winkelmann supposes Agesander to have been father of the other two, and to have lived about the time of Alexander.^f A Roman citizen, by name Felice de Fredis, (who has a monument in the church of Ara Celi,) had the good fortune to discover this precious relic in the year 1506, and he refused to sell it to the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli for 600 scudi. The Pope, however, was more successful, and erected a kind of chapel for it in the grounds of Belvedere. Winkelmann informs us,^g that Julius II. had assigned a pension to Fredis and his son upon the duties payable at the gate of St. John Lateran. Leo X. restored these duties to the church, and gave Fredis the office of apostolic secretary. This was in 1517.

Michel Angelo denied Pliny's assertion of its being cut out of one block. Giovangelo and Michel Christofano, two celebrated sculptors, agreed in this opinion, and pointed out three or four joinings, but they were united so admirably, that it would require a most experienced person to discover them. Winkelmann, speaking of the ancients joining different parts of their statues together, says, that we may see a piece of iron used for this purpose in the Laocoon, where it is placed behind the base.^h But his annotator Fea says, that there is no such piece of iron to be dis-

^f Lib. vi. c. 3. § 9. If so, it is by no means improbable, that the three figures are portraits of the three sculptors.

^g Lib. vi. c. 3. § 10. note.

^h Lib. iv. c. 7. § 29.

covered in this groupe, except one, which connects the left arm of the father with the right arm of one of his sons, where the marble had been broken; but this, he says, is not ancient. He adds,ⁱ that three separate pieces can be clearly made out: the figure of the eldest son, which is on the left-hand, is one; the upper half of Laocoon himself, down to the knees, is another; and the rest of the groupe seems to be in one.^k The left foot of the eldest son is longer than the other.

Disputes have arisen as to the author of the Restorations. There is a common report that Michel Angelo began an arm in marble for the larger figure, but left it unfinished, "Because, as" he said, he found he could do nothing worthy "of so admirable a piece."^l Winkelmann asserts this, and adds, that he had intended to make the arm bend back, so as to come over the head of the statue. It is certain, that an arm of this kind formerly lay near the statue, but whether it was the work of Michel Angelo is at least doubtful. Winkelmann makes Bernini to have formed the arm, which we now see in *Terra Cotta*. Heyne^m denies this, alleging for his reason, that Bernini

ⁱ Note to lib. vi. c. 3. § 11.

^k The Catalogue of the Louvre says, that there are five pieces.

^l Spence's Anecdotes, p. 36.

^m In his Collection of Essays upon different subjects of antiquity.

was not born till 1598; but in the engraving of the groupe, published by Marliani in 1544, the figure is represented as restored. This however is no direct evidence against Bernini, as the engraver may have supplied the deficiency from his own imagination, or Bernini's restoration may have succeeded to a former one. We have however some certain evidence upon the subject. Vasari in his *Life of Baccio Bandinelli*, tells us, that this sculptor made an arm for the figure of Laocoon in wax in the year 1525. He followed this in his own copy of the groupe, which is now at Florence, and it is the same as what Marliani engraved in 1544. Vasari also tells us, that Giovangelo Montorsoli restored the right arm in marble by order of Clement VII. after 1532. This is the arm, of which Winkelmann speaks, as not having been finished, and lying near the statue. It may have been attributed to Michel Angelo, from the similarity of the name. The question still remains, who formed the arm in *terra cotta* which we now see upon the statue? It may have been Bandinelli himself; or it may have been Bernini; but it is not mentioned in either of the lives written of him by his son, and by Baldinucci. We know, that the arms of the two children were restored by Agostino Cornacchini of Pistoja, but they are not much admired. He followed the copy of Bandinelli, and an engraving on wood made by Titian, in which he had turned the figures into three apes, to ridicule Bandinelli,

who had boasted of producing a copy superior to the original.

In the Camera Madama are two groupes of the Laocoon: the smaller is of a different design from the famous Laocoon; but the larger groupe is just like it. It has the arm, which is wanting in the other; and Bandinelli followed it in the copy, which he made of this groupe at the end of the gallery at Florence.^a There was also a gem in the collection at Paris, where the groupe very nearly resembled this; and the right arm of Laocoon is bent, as M. Angelo intended his restoration to be.^o

Many criticisms have been bestowed upon this work: among which it is said, that the father seems to be feeling his own sufferings more than those of his sons; a remark which does not make the expression really less natural, though it may not be so heroic. Winkelmann admires the statue, for expressing the exact contrary of this. It is however not unjust to say, that the bodies of the father and his sons are relatively out of proportion: for if the sons are viewed separately, they by no means present the idea of boys, but of men; whereas the father is so much larger, that either he must be a giant, or his sons dwarfs. The height of the whole groupe is eight palms nine inches.

^a Spence's Anecdotes, p. 227.

^o It is engraved in the work of Marietti, tom. ii. pl. 95.

The celebrated passage in Virgil certainly does not apply to this groupe :

at primùm parva duorum
Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
Implicat, et miseros morsu depascitur artus ;
Post ipsum, auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem,
Corripiunt, spirisque ligant ingentibus ; et jam
Bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
Terga dati, superant capite et cervicibus altis.
Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos.

Æn. ii. 213.

Still less does a passage in Petronius Arbiter agree with the work of the Rhodian sculptors. It occurs in his Satyricon, c. 89.

infulis stabant sacri
Phrygioque cultu gemina nati pignora
Laocoonte, quos repente tergoribus ligant
Angues corusci: parvulas illi manus
Ad ora referunt ; neuter auxilio sibi,
Uterque fratri transtulit pias vices,
Morsque ipsa miseros mutuo perdit metu.
Accumulat ecce liberùm funus parens,
Infirmus Auxiliator : invadunt virum
Jam morte pasti, membraque ad terram trahunt.
Jacet sacerdos inter aras victima
Terramque plangit.

The preceding chapter contains a discourse upon the decay of the art of painting ; and the Poem,

to which these verses belong, seems to be descriptive of a picture, called *The Taking of Troy*; from which we may infer, that the painter certainly did not consult the work of the sculptor for his ideas. Virgil seems in the same manner to have drawn from his own imagination in describing the scene; or he may have followed writers who preceded him: for Servius quotes Bacchylides, as having mentioned the story; and adds, that Euphorion wrote a tragedy upon it. We know also, that Sophocles wrote a tragedy called *Laocoon*:^p and Lycophron, who was much earlier than Virgil,^q alludes to it.^r In fact, it seems to have been a favourite subject with the ancients. Quintus Calaber has several verses upon it:^s and Hyginus^t even tells us, that the names of his two sons were Antiphas and Thymbræus: but Servius calls them Ethron and Melanthus. Hyginus makes Laocoon to have been son of Acætes and brother of Anchises, whereas Tzetzes^u calls him son of Antenor. What is more extraordinary, even the snakes have found names: for Lycophron calls one Porces, and Tzetzes tells us, that the other's name was Charibæa.

In the last room of this series is the celebrated Belvedere Apollo, of which so much has been said, and every description fails in conveying an adequate idea of its extraordinary beauty. It was

^p Vide Harpocraton in 'Αγνύς. ^q He flourished 304, A.C.

^r Cassandra, v. 347.

^s 388—409.

^t Fab. 135.

^u Ad Lycophron.

found at Antium towards the end of the fifteenth century. The fingers of the right hand are in plaister; and the left hand is a modern restoration by Govanangelo Montorsoli, a pupil of Michel Angelo: the right arm and leg are ancient, but have been badly joined on, so that the knee seems rather turned in. Both ankles have been broken; and an accident, which happened to it in its journey from Paris, has been clumsily repaired.

A variety of opinions has been expressed as to the character in which Agasias meant to represent Apollo. Spence* conceived him to be a hunter. Visconti recognizes a statue, made by Calamis, and described by Pausanias,[†] which the Athenians erected to Apollo in his medical capacity after the great plague. Other opinions are, that he has just defeated the giant Tityus; that he has expended all his arrows against the Achæans; that he has been slaying the giants, Niobe, and her children, or the faithless Coronis. Such are some of the conjectures to which this wonderful statue has given rise.[‡] The prevailing opinion however is, that he has just slain the serpent Python, and this is the idea of Winkelmann. He certainly appears from the attitude, and from the fragment of a bow in his left hand, to have just discharged an arrow: but it must be remembered, that this hand is modern: a quiver is on his back, and his feet are exactly in the attitude of a person

* Polymetis, Dial. viii. p. 87.

† Lib. i. c. 3.

‡ Vide Winkelmann, lib. vi. c. 6. s. 51, &c.

who has drawn his bow, and is watching the progress of his arrow. A snake is twisted round the trunk, on which his right arm rests.

Winkelmann is elevated into a strain of enthusiasm in describing this statue, which perhaps nothing but the Apollo Belvedere would save from being called rhapsody. He thinks it probable, that it was one of the numerous statues which were brought from the temple at Delphi by Nero. I have read somewhere, but cannot remember the authority, that it has been supposed to be the statue, which the Carthaginians carried off from the temple of Æsculapius at Agrigentum, and which was restored by Scipio. There is however no such statue mentioned by Cicero in his speech against Verres, where we might have expected to find it.^a

After all these conjectures as to the design and history of this unrivalled statue, it remains that we should notice an opinion, which some have ventured to entertain, that after all it is merely a copy. They observe, that the marble is from the quarries at Carrara, not from those of Paros: and Pliny says,^b that the quarries of Luna (i. e. Carrara) had not been discovered long before his time, but that the marble was much whiter than that of Paros. It appears however from his own work,^c that they were open in the time of Julius Cæsar. The celebrated Canova thought that the original was of bronze: alleging in justification of this opinion,

^a Act. ii. lib. 4.

^b Lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

^c Ibid. c. 7.

that statues of that material have a certain style different from those in marble; and that the Apollo Belvedere, particularly the drapery, appears to have been copied from bronze.^d Visconti on the other hand will not allow, that the Apollo is made of Carrara marble. He contends, that it came from some Grecian quarry, though not from those of Pentelicus or Paros. He also remarks it as a circumstance rather singular, that the names of Apollonius, Glycon and Agasias, who have left us three of the most celebrated specimens of ancient sculpture, are not mentioned by those writers who have given us histories of the art.^e If they were really not held in high esteem, what must we think of the works of those who excelled them, and which are lost?

Addison tells us, that there are representations of the Apollo, the Hercules Farnese, and the Venus de' Medici, upon medals of Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Faustina respectively; nor are they to be seen upon any earlier coins:^f from which he is "apt to think, they are all of them the "product of that age."

^d Vide Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. i. p. 177.

^e A Mars in the Louvre has upon it the name of the Sculptor Heraclides son of Agasias of Ephesus. The fighting Gladiator, also at Paris, which was found at Antium, has upon it the name of the sculptor, Agasias of Ephesus, son of Dositheus. It should be mentioned, that there is no direct evidence of Agasias being the sculptor of the Apollo.

^f In the *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie* there is mention of a coin of Nero with the Hercules Farnese on the reverse.

Critics have observed, that one leg of the Apollo is longer than the other, and that the head is awkwardly placed between the shoulders.^g The height is exactly nine palms, eight *oncie*; or with the plinth, nine palms, eleven *oncie*. It has been remarked, that there is a great resemblance in the style of this statue to that of the Diana in the Louvre.

Out of this court we pass into a larger apartment, filled with various animals of Greek and Roman sculpture. The floor is composed of curious and handsome Mosaics, mostly found at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste. We know, that the sculptors of Greece paid particular attention to the study of animals, and some of them excelled particularly in this department. Calamis was celebrated for representing horses,^h and Nicias for dogs.ⁱ We may find mention of dogs particularly well executed in other passages of Pliny.^j The cow of Myron is well known:^k and Praxiteles had a living lion placed before him to copy.^l Out of Rome, we need only mention the lion at Venice, which came from the Piræus at Athens, and the boar at the entrance of the gallery at Florence.

Among the animals, one groupe is sure to be

^g Barry, vol. i. p. 449.

^h Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

ⁱ Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 11.

^j Vide lib. xxxiv. c. 7 and 19; lib. xxxv. c. 10.

^k Vide Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

^l Ibid. lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

observed, which is repeated more than once in this collection, and is called *Mithras*. With little variation they all consist of the following figures. A man with his head turned back rests his left knee upon a bull, while he places his left hand upon the bull's nose, and with his right plunges a sword into the bull's right shoulder; a dog licks up the blood which falls; a serpent is represented below, and an eagle above. The whole is a Persian allegory, and one of the interpretations is as follows. Mithras was a title of the sun. The bull is the earth, which Mithras or the sun is fertilizing with heat, and penetrating with his influence in the sign of Taurus. The dog denotes, that all things are nourished by the sun's influence upon the earth; beside which, *Canis* is properly placed next to *Taurus*. The bull's tail terminates in ears of corn, to denote fecundity. De la Chausse, who has described this Museum,^m says of another part of this groupe, "Virtus Solaris in Tauro invalescens incipit deficere in Cancro, virtusque genitalis paulatim in illo comprimitur." Another writer says, "Scorpium juxta Genitalia ad Solem in Scorpio refert, mense scilicet Octobri, quo semina remisso vigore propter frigus concluduntur." Bread and water were administered at the mysteries of Mithra, in a manner similar to the Christian Sacrament.ⁿ

^m Museum Romanum, 2 vol. Roma 1746.

ⁿ Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 66. Tertull. de Præscr. Hæc. c. 40.

This room leads into a long gallery, filled with statues and other antiquities, many of which are much deserving of notice. Two sitting figures, of the comic poets Posidippus and Menander, are perhaps most so. They were found in the time of Sextus V. in a round building near the Church of S. Pudentiana. The recumbent figure at the opposite end, which has been called a Cleopatra and an Ariadne by different critics, is also a chef-d'œuvre. The name of Cleopatra has been given to it, because the bracelet has resemblance to a serpent: but the other conjecture is most probable. The head is modern.

At one extremity is a great collection of busts, some of which are known, but a greater number are not so. We need not be astonished at the immense quantity of ancient busts which have been discovered. Pliny tells us,^o that in his time it was a common custom to change the heads of illustrious persons and fit on new ones; so that the trade of making busts must have been one which was in great request: and Chrysostom^p reproaches the Rhodians for their economy in dedicating the same statues to different persons, defacing the original inscriptions. Beside this, even in the finest statues it was sometimes customary to work the heads separate from the rest, and join them on. This is the case in the statues of Niobe and her children at Florence.^q

^o Lib. xxxv. c. 2.

^p Or. Rhod. 31.

^q Winkelmann, lib. iv. c. 7. s. 10.

The Hall of the Muses contains much the best collection of those ladies which I have seen. Eight of them were found in the ruins of the Villa of Cassius, near to Tivoli, about the year 1774. Beside them, there are several busts of philosophers, some of which, from having their names and sayings under them, are unquestionably authentic. These are, Socrates, Zeno, Periander, Pittacus, Bias, Pericles, Antisthenes, beside many which are mutilated. With respect to the bust of Socrates, it may be curious to show the exact agreement which his features bear to the descriptions in ancient authors. "Socrates was said to resemble Silenus in his looks; for he was flat-nosed and bald."^r "Now do not be angry with me: he was not handsome, but he resembled you in the flatness of his nose and in the exterior of his eyes."^s "A person would be a fool, who was to put such a question as this, Whether any one had a flatter nose than Socrates?"^t

^r Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. 223.

^s Plato, Theæt.

^t Athenæus, lib. v. c. 60. (ed. Sweigh.) The same account also is given by Plato, Sympos.; Lucian, Dial. Mort.; Xenophon, Sympos.; and Synesius, Calvitii Encomium. From a passage in Cicero, it would seem that there were craniologists in those days: "Zopyrus et stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum, quod jugula concava non haberet; obstructas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat." De Fato, c. 2.

In a circular room out of this, which is 61 feet in diameter and extremely beautiful, is a magnificent cup of porphyry, 46 feet in circumference, found in the Baths of Titus. The sides of the room are ornamented with very fine statues, and the floor contains the largest ancient mosaic extant. It was found at Otricoli, anciently Ocriculum, on the road to Florence.

The next room to this is in the shape of a Greek cross, and excessively rich in marbles. Among its contents, the most striking are two Sarcophagi of red porphyry, of a great size, and ornamented with bas-reliefs, which are extremely perfect, but ill executed. One contained the ashes of S. Constantia, daughter of Constantine, and was found in the mausoleum dedicated to her by that emperor, near the Church of S. Agnese, on the road leading from the Porta Pia. This is a very curious building, being of a circular form and ornamented with ancient mosaics. It is thought to have been erected first as a baptistery to the neighbouring Church of S. Agnese,^u which was also built by Constantine, and afterwards to have been converted into a mausoleum to his daughter. We have certain evidence that many of Constantine's family were buried in a mausoleum on this road.* The Sarcophagus is probably much older than the time of Constantine. Paul II. was removing it to the Lateran, to serve

^u Anastasius, Platina, Sylvest. * Ammian, lib. xxi. c. 1.

for his own tomb, when he died; and his successor, Sextus IV. restored it to its original place, from whence it was taken to the Vatican. It should be mentioned, however, that some consider the building to be much older, and call it a Temple of Bacchus. The capitals of the columns^y are certainly in a style of elegance superior to the age of Constantine. Constantia died in 354.

The other Sarcophagus contained the remains of S. Helena, mother of Constantine, and came from her mausoleum upon the road out of the Porta Maggiore. This mausoleum is now called Tor Pignattara, from the earthen vessels, *pignatte*, which are seen in the roof of this building, as in the Circus of Caracalla, and other ruins. Anastasius IV. removed the Sarcophagus to the Lateran, intending it for his own tomb. Pius VI. moved it to its present place. Some doubts have been raised whether this can really be the Sarcophagus of Helena; for Nicephorus says,^z that she was buried in a round temple, out of the city of Rome, in a marble urn, which was removed two years after to Constantinople. But as Helena died in 327, and Nicephorus did not live till the fourteenth century, later writers have preferred the tradition which makes this the Sarcophagus of the Empress Saint. Cedrenus also says expressly, that she was buried in a tomb of porphyry. He adds, that Constantine was afterwards

^y They are engraved by Desgodetz.

^z Lib. viii. c. 31.

laid in the same: but Socrates tells us, that the body of Helena was removed to Constantinople two years after its interment.^a

There is an inscription in this room, behind the tomb of Helena, which I have never yet seen cited, but which, if genuine, is of some interest in illustrating a fact, which was doubtful even in the days of Livy. I say, if it be genuine: for from the silence of antiquaries upon the subject, and from the terms of the inscription itself, which is not altogether in the style of ancient epitaphs, I cannot help having suspicions.^b However, I have never seen the least evidence of its being forged, and it holds its place in the Vatican among the most authentic remains. It purports to be the epitaph of Syphax King of Numidia, who was brought to Italy by Scipio Africanus to grace his triumph: but Livy says,^c that he was saved this disgrace by dying at Tibur, whither he had been sent by the Senate. He adds, however, that according to the account of Polybius he actually was led in triumph. Livy's words are these: "Syphax was withdrawn rather from
" the gaze of the multitude, than from the glory
" of the conqueror, by dying a little before the
" Triumph at Tibur, whither he had been re-

^a Lib. i. c. 13.

^b Nibby tells us, that it was found in the fifteenth century, in the ruins of a Villa not far from Tivoli; but he justly calls it "apocryphal."

^c Lib. xxx. c. ult.

“ moved from Alba. His death, however, drew
 “ notice, since he was buried with a public fune-
 “ ral. Polybius, a writer by no means to be
 “ slighted, says that this King was led in Tri-
 “ umph.” Polybius adds, that he died in prison:
 and if we believe Claudian, he swallowed poison,

haurire venena
 Compulimus dirum Syphacem.

but no other author mentions this; and the critics think we should read *Annibalem*.^d The inscription touches upon the question of his being led in triumph; and I think that the following copy may be relied upon as preserving the abbreviations and stops exactly as they are in the original.

SYPHAX NVMDIAE REX
 A: SC̄PIONE. AFRC. IVR. BEL. CAUSA
 ROM. IN TRIUMPH. SVMORNV
 CAPTIVS. PERDVCTVS
 INTIBVRTINO. TERRI. RELEGATV
 SVAMQSERVIT-V-INANIREVOL.
 SVPREM. D. CLAVSIT
 ETATIS, ANN. XLVIII. M. VI. D. XI
 CAPTIVITS. V. OBRVT
 P. C. SC̄PIO. CONDITOSEPVL

The abbreviations are perplexing, and not usual:

^d Vide Claud. de Bello Gildon, 91. Ovid makes the middle syllable of *Syphacem* long: Fast. lib. vi. 769. So does Propertius, lib. iii. el. 11, 59.

but perhaps some of them may be written at length in the following manner.

SYPHAX. NVMDIAE. REX

A. SCIPIONE. AFRICANO. IVRIS. BELLI. CAUSA
ROMAM. IN. TRIVMPHV. SVVM. ORNANDVM
CAPTIVVS. PERDVCTVS

IN. TIBVRTINORVM. TERRIS. RELEGATVS*
SVAMQVE. SERVITVTEM. IN. ANIMO. REVOLVENS
SVPREMAM. DIEM. CLAVSIT
AETATIS. ANNO. XLVIII. MENSE. VI. DIE. XI
CAPTIVITATIS. VI. OBRVTVS
P. C. SCIPIONE. CONDITORE. SEPVLCRI

After all, the question between Polybius and the other Roman historians is not satisfactorily decided by this document, though I should rather cite it on the side of Polybius. The age of Syphax, which unfortunately is not of the slightest importance, is perhaps the only fact proved by it. It may be mentioned, that the inscriptions from the tomb of the Scipios, which are nearly contemporary with the supposed date of this, contain scarcely any abbreviations; and in a list of the inscriptions found at Tivoli there is no mention of this. To which it may be added, that a genuine inscription of that day would hardly give to Scipio the surname of Africanus. He certainly did not assume it before his Tri-

* Or TIBVRTINO. TERRITORIO. *Territorium* is a classical word: vid. Cic. 2. Philip. 40. and Plin. lib. xxix. c. 6.

umph; and at whatever time Syphax died, he did not long survive it.

After ascending a very handsome staircase, we come into a room called that of the chariot, from an ancient one of marble, which is preserved here. Two horses also in marble are yoked to it, and the whole has the appearance of being very perfect: but unfortunately only the car itself, not the wheels, and the body of one of the horses, are ancient; all the rest are modern additions, but well executed. In some bas-reliefs, which represent the games of the Circus, there are generally some figures lying prostrate under the legs of the horses, which are running. The antiquaries have made out the extraordinary explanation, that they were people who threw themselves down in the way of the chariots, that the drivers might show their skill in passing over them. The drivers will also be observed with the reins lapped round their bodies in several folds, a custom which prevailed in the games of the Circus; and which may explain the misfortune, which would otherwise seem difficult to have happened, in the account of the death of Orestes. He is said to have been "rolled from the chariot, and to have been entangled with the reins."^f The custom seems to be expressly noticed in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, as some of the Commentators have perceived. The poet makes Hippolytus to have tied

^f Soph. Elect. 748.

the reins to his body behind, that he might have greater command over the horses: and when he is thrown out of the chariot, he is represented as "entangled in the reins, and bound in an indisso-luble knot."^g The Tragedy of Seneca confirms still more strongly this interpretation.

Præceps in ora fusus implicuit cadens
Laqueo tenaci corpus, et quanto magis
Pugnat, sequaces hoc magis nodos ligat.^h

There is here also a Discobolus, which has the name of Myron upon it: but it is not supposed to be the work of that great artist, who flourished in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and worked chiefly in bronze: it is probably a copy from one of his statues; and we know, that even with the ancients it was a common practice to put the name of some great sculptor upon ordinary statues. Phædrus tells us this:ⁱ

Ut quidam artifices nostro faciunt sæculo,
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo
Si marmori ascripserunt Praxitelen suo,
Trito Myronem argento. Fabulæ exeant
Adeo fucatae; plus vetustis nam favet
Invidia mordax, quam bonis præsentibus.

The Catalogue of the Louvre says, that the name of Myron was added by the modern artist, who

^g Vide 1222 and 1236 Ed. Beck.

^h Compare Ovid. Met. xv. 524: and Fast. vi. 743. See also Markland ad Eurip. Sup. 689.

ⁱ Lib. v. in prol.

restored the statue. Pliny, when speaking of Myron's works in bronze,^k expressly mentions the Discobolus. Lucian also, who describes it,^l implies that it was in bronze. It was placed in the vestibule of a palace at Athens; and as Lucian mentions having seen it, it was in existence after the reign of Trajan. There is reason to think, that a great abundance of copies was made from it. There is one at Florence, a *torso* in the Capitol, and another in England. This in the Vatican, which is antique with exception of part of the right leg, was found in the Villa Palombara on the Esquiline Hill, in the year 1781. The passage in Lucian alluded to above may convince us, that this is really a copy from the celebrated Discobolus of Myron, and from no other; for it is that which Lucian is describing. He makes him stooping down, like one about to throw the quoit, turning his face back towards the hand which holds it; and bending the left foot a little back, as if he was going to rise with the cast. Quintilian also^m seems to allude to the strained attitude of the statue. Some parts of this copy were either not finished, or have suffered by time, as the left foot, the right knee, and part of the neck. When it was found, there was a piece of marble attached to the right thigh, which supported the right arm: this has been removed.

^k Lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

^l Philopseud. s. 18.

^m Inst. lib. ii. c. 13.

On the block which supports this statue we may see the ancient *strigilis* or scraper used in the baths.

This apartment is the termination of the Museo Pio-Clementino, which it is impossible to have passed through without admiring the magnificence of the two pontiffs, who gave their name to it. The fame of Clement XIV. has however entirely merged in that of Pius VI. who built the Museum, and whose name is placed on almost every article preserved in it. *Munificentia Pii Sexti* meets us at every turn, as do the arms of Braschi, to which family the pope belonged. This certainly exposes Pius VI. to the charge of vanity; and the Romans, who are always given to sarcasm, used it on one occasion as a reproof to their sovereign. In the time of a scarcity, the bread, though it did not rise in price, was greatly reduced in the size of the loaves. The people thought, that part of the revenue might have been better applied to relieve their exigences, than to ornament the Vatican. Accordingly Pasquin appeared one morning with a loaf in his hand of the smallest dimensions; over which was written *Munificentia Pii Sexti*.

Returning from the room of the Chariot, we enter a gallery, the whole length of which is 1,041 feet; but it is not properly one gallery, but a series of rooms, which are open to each other. Four of them are filled with works of ancient sculpture; and then comes a gallery, 420 feet in

length, the walls of which are painted with maps of different parts of Italy, executed by Ignazio Danti in 1581. These are rudely done, but are well worth examining. This gallery connects with the rooms already described, in which the tapestries of Raffael are hung.

FINIS.

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